A PERFITE LOOking Glaſſe for all Eſtates:

Moſt excellently and eloquently ſet forth by the famous and learned Oratour Iſocrates, *as contained in three Orations of Morall inſtructions, written by the Authour himſelfe at the firſt in the Greeke tongue, of late yeeres Tranſlated into Latine by that learned Clearke Hieronimus Wolfius.*

And nowe Engliſhed to the behalfe of the Reader, with ſundrie examples and pithy *ſentences both of Princes and Philoſophers* gathered and collected out of diuers writers, coted in the margent approbating the Authors entent, no leſſe delectable then profitable.

(*.*)

¶ *Imprinted at London by* Thomas Purfoote, dwelling in Newgate Market, within the new Rents, at the Signe of the *Lucrece.*

1580.

A PERFITE LOO-
King Glasse for all
Estates:

Most excellently and eloquently set forth by the famous and learned Orator Lucrece, as contained in three Orations of Moral instructions, inscribed by the Author unto the Reader, at the first to the Sixteen tongue, of late perfect Translated into Latine by that learned Orator Diocesis.

And now Englished to the behalfe of the Reader, with sundrie examples and pithy sentences both of Princes and Philosophers gathered and collected out of diuers Sciences, coted in the margene approbating the Authors intent, no less delectable than profitable.

(**)

Imprinted at London by Thomas Purfoote, dwelling in Newgate Market, within the new Rents, at the Signe of the Lucrece.

1580.

To the Right Honorable, and his ſinguler good Lord, Sir Thomas Bromley Knight, Lord Chaunceller of England, and one of the Queenes Maieſties moſt honorable Priuie Counſell.

WHen as (Right Honorable) a certaine Citizen of Rome in preſenting a Booke into the handes of that renowned and noble Emperour Auguſtus Cæſar, being fearefull and baſhfull of nature, ſeemed oftentimes to put forth and to drawe backe againe his hand, as one willing and yet timerous, the good Emperour who aboue all thinges abhorred and deteſted, to be thought terrible or fearefull towardes his ſubiectes, hauing eſpied the baſhfulneſſe of the man, courteouſly receiuing the preſent frō out his hand asked him whether he had thought with himſelf, that he had byn about to giue foode to an Elephant, ſignifying that Magiſtrates and Rulers ſhould not onely ſo behaue

themselues in the gouernment and ruling of such as are subiect vnto them, that they may rather appeare fathers then maisters, but also that no man bee he neuer so simple shoulde at any time be bashfull or fearefull to present vnto the greatest Emperour, the least or smallest gifte proceeding from a faithfull and willing minde; as declared the worthie Artaxerxes in receyuing so cheerefully the droppes of water offered vnto him by a simple sot of his owne Countrie, especially the gift beyng so excellent as was that Booke giuen into the handes of Cæsar. For from them onely as from the faithfullest counsellers, both Princes and Magistrats without all fawning or flattering may learne those thinges which are most necessariest to the knowledge of duetie and direction of life. Let it not therefore seeme any thing straunge vnto your honour in that I

haue presumed so much as to offer into your handes with this Citizen of Rome, this small and simple pamphlet, in that not onely as is manifested vnto the whole worlde, your courtesie and clemencie is nothing inferiour vnto him in whom may be reputed the greatest affabilitie and gentlenesse, but also in respect of that feruent seale and affection, which you haue alwayes borne vnto all those that are studious in good literatures, being as it were of one and the self same minde with that good Emperour Gordianus esteeming more a godly Booke thē the preciousst Gold: wherby I haue byn perswaded to thinke that though this present, may seeme (as it is in deede) to to base to bee presented vnto so learned a Iudge, that you woulde rather reproue me if I shoulde haue shewed my selfe bashefull in proffering then at all to blame mee

so boldly presuming, and that so much the rather if withdrawing your eyes from mee as pardoning my slendernes and imbisilitie of skill, you referre your selfe wholy to the worthinesse of the Author, as one more regarding the profitable and graue aduertisementes specified by him, then the rudenesse and plainenesse of so simple a Translatour: Wherefore as distrusting nothing through so great an incourragement giuen, and yet as one not arrogantly presuming, but hoping the best in humble and duetifull wise I offer vnto your Lordship these fewe leaues containing in them, three Orations appertaining to the Morall instruction and direction, both of Princes and Magistrates as well touching the gouernment of themselues as of their Cities and Countries, as also of all other meaner and inferiour persons, being a parsell of the workes of that learned and famous Oratour Isocrates, the

foun-

ſountaine of Eloquence, and the onely originall of all thoſe renowned Oratours of Greece written at the firſt, by the Author himſelfe in the Greeke tongue, the one as a friendly exhortation ſent vnto a priuate perſon called Demonicus, the other two as dedicated vnto Nicocles the Prince and gouernour of Salamis a part of Cypres, heretofore alſo interpreted by diuers and ſundry writers, and laſt of all in this our age Tranſlated into Latine by that graue and learned Clearke Hieronimus Wolfius, and by him preſented into the handes of that Noble and mightie Emperour Maximilian the ſecond, and nowe vnto your honour, turned out of Latine into this our vulgar and naturall tongue by him, who ſtanding as it were vppon thornes, fearing the purſute of many aduerſaries and carping Momuſes, deſirous of refuge craueth of your Lordſhip, according to your accuſtomed

med goodnesse to be defenced and munited vnder the shadowe of your winges, that thereby the grauer and learned sorte may with a more fauourabler eye graũt a frindly and luckie succesſe vnto this my first enterprise, as also the shameleſse faces of curious findfaults be made somewhat the bashfuller through yours so honorable a protection, although I can not hope so clearely to escape their handes by whom the wiſeſt and learnedſt haue byn attainted, may it therefore please your honor to receiue vnder your tuition, your poore & hũble Oratour as fauourably accepting this small mite at his handes as it is willingly offered by him who euen of dutie is boũd to gratifie your Lordship with as great treasure as euer Æmilius brought into the Romane cofers if possible it were, that poore Telemanus mate should hap to enioye such wealth: for as at Welforde by the benefite of that good and ver-

vertuous Lady your mother in lawe (whose life I beseech the Lord of his great mercie long to continue) I first obtained & inioyed the taste and sauour of those sweete waters issuing from the pure fountain of learning and knowledge, so is it requisite that her Ladiship and all hers, among whom I haue chosen your Lordship as principall, should reape and possesse afore all others the fruites of their charges, not doubting though as yet they be nothing correspondent to the lest part of their desertes, but that your honour and the rest will in the meane time in patient wise accept the same, vntil the continuance of time haue brought all thinges to a better perfection. And thus least I may seeme by vsing of many words to abuse your patience in detaining your honour from others, your most waightie and graue affaires in transgressing the boundes of an Epistle I will at this time vse silence, that so the

graue and famous Oratour Isocrates himselfe and your Lordship hauing talked together, you may haue as good cause to say as much of him as did Alexander the great of Homers *Illiad des terming them as the chiefest furniture and prouision of all his warres during the which time of which your priuate conference with this Painim as duetie willeth absenting my selfe, shall remaine a dayly peticioner vnto the Lorde our God that mightie Iehoua for your honours perpetuall preseruatiõ and safegard both in this worlde with the increase and continuance of honour, as also in the life to come with euerlasting felicitie and eternall happinesse.*

Your honours as most bound
Thomas Forrest.

The Epistle of the Translatour to the Reader.

EXperience doth shewe thee (gentle Reader) that though in the spring time, thou doest commonlye beholde the fruitefull trees, when stormye winter is past, to budde and to blossome in goodly and ioyfull wise, whereby thou art put in good hope to receiue great plentie of fruites in Autumne, yet sodainly it often falleth out, that by Caterpillers, noysome Ayres, or raging windes vntemperately insuing, thy foresayde hope is frustrated, the fruite blasted, and thy looked for plentie turned into penurie: And all these inconueniences for the most part as much as in vs lyeth doe insue, either through the lacke of foresight and skill, in the first planting and setting of thy Orchard, in a calme and temperate ayre, or else because of the negligence of thy Gardner, for want of pruning and other good ordring of thy trees, in their due seaso. The like herunto doth also happen in sēblable wise, in these our dayes, who hauing most goodlye and profitable Lawes, established and constituted by our most gratious Gouernesse, & her most Honourable Counsaile, as also sundry and diuers rules of well liuing, prescribed and set forth by many graue Oratours, and learned Philosophers, which in the prime, and at the firste setting forth, seeme to be of force, and as well liked of, of all men, and yet before one halfe yeare be fully past, the one is either rawly and coldly executed, or else mittigated or rather extinguished by some boisterous blast or other, who being induced by some one, to whom the statute prescribed seemeth preiudiciall, straight wayes

addeth such a cooling Carde, that the foresayd lawes before Autumne come, are found betwixt sleeping and waking, it also goeth wel with the latter (I meane the bookes and writinges of the learned) if of some here and there a leafe be perused, if of others it be once read ouer, and if of many the first lynes be as it were spelled so that through themselues which are the vntemperate ayre, and vnfruitefull soyle, wherein it happeneth these good aduertisementes to be planted, (the bookes beeing throwne into corners) there can bee founde scarse one at the fall of the leafe, whose manners and conuersation hath bene amended, and redressed thereby: And by these meanes it commeth to passe in the time of neede, the garners are empty, the fruites are perrished, a good man is scarse to be found, the licencious liue at libertie, the common weale indaungered, the Prince and Lawes disobeyed, and God and his word neglected. The which things considered, as also calling to my remembraunce, how that in no realme, nor in any age heretofore, in this our Countrey, the worde of god hath neuer more flourished, neuer painfuller preaching and teaching, more godlyer and profitabler lawes neuer made, neuer more wiser and grauer Counsellers, and neuer more Bookes sette forth, especially in this our Englishe tongue, and yet no time to haue bene, wherein sinne and iniquitye hath more raigned, the learned lesse regarded, their writinges lesse perused, and all men more careleste then they are now, though my good will were beute to applye my selfe according to my small Talente, to profite my Countrey in setting foorth of some suche thing as might be as well commodious to many, as

conducible

conducible to my selfe, yet by these meanes, I was so greatly discomforted at this my fyrst entrance, that had not the perswations of my most faithfull and louing friendes animated and incouraged me forward. I had bene more willinger to haue turned and retired backe againe, then to haue gone one foote forward. For where the stoutest Champions are foyled and vanquished, what hope is there to see the timerous and feareful victorers, if the wisest haue bene put to silence if the Bookes of the learned Clearkes haue bene no more regarded, what comforte can the meaner sorte haue: how may they thinke to speede: or wherein shall they seeme to profite, when as their betters haue preuailed so little? Who knoweth not howe greatlye in times past our auncestours reuerenced and honoured the learned, with what care and diligence before the Arte of Printing was found out, they indeuoured to write out the Coppies of their writinges, what charges they bestowed in penning their bookes, and what great sommes of money they woulde gladlye departe withall, if they heard of any writer before vnknowne, respecting no charges, nor regarding any trauayle, so that they might obtain them, but nowe, who seeth not how all thinges are turned vpside downe? and the English Prouerbes in all pointes verified: The neareste the Churche, the farthest from god: The greateste Clearkes, not the wiseste men: The greateste braggers, the veriest Cowardes: The lowdest sounde, the emptiest Vessell: and breefelye to say the truth in one word, the greater knowledge, the lesse following: euery man pretending himselfe skilfull in his duetie, and yet scarse one fulfilling the least part therof in so much

that the Lacedemonian Ambassadours may now say vnto vs English men, as sometime they did to the Athenians, which is, that we know what is good, but yet we doe nothing lesse, or as Hannibal that Noble Captaine gaue his Iudgement, as touching the Lecture of a Philosopher which he had heard: his words sayeth he, are good, but yet I had rather haue him that can doe it in deede, then those to sitte and talke of that which should be done.

For as this our Authour whome we haue nowe in hande affirmeth, one deede profiteth more then a thousande wordes, bee they neuer so sweetelye spoken, the which Lesson, I praye GOD it may bee both well remembered, as also better followed of all true Christians, and especiallye of vs, that as wee surpasse all other Nations, in the readinesse and promptnesse of Gods Booke, and haue nowe a long tyme both by hearing and Preaching, obtayned the veritie, so nowe to the confusion of all our Aduersaries, wee woulde begynne to awake, and to looke aboute, so framing our liues, through the assistaunce of Gods grace, that men seeing our good workes, may glorifie our Father which is in Heauen, and that oure loste Brethren, nowe standing as it were agaste, and amazed, with the lycenciousnesse of oure lyues, maye through our amendment bee broughte home againe, the wrath of God appeased, and our Countrey remaining in moste happye and blessed estate, which otherwise is like through our naughtines and wickednesse to be whipped and scourged with manye Roddes: For as all men doe confesse, the Cleargie in former time to haue deserued that ouerthrowe and

confusion

confusion that happened vnto them, because of their abhominable liues, and moste detestable Idolatrie, in seducing and blinding of men with fancies and vanities. So surely if wee looke into our selues, wee shall finde that wee haue deserued no lesse, not leauing one path of iniquitye vntrodden, wherein they before had walked, nay rather adding more therevnto if possible it may be.

But some man will say, what hath induced you to say or to thinke this of our Cleargy, seeing there is no such vice in our Church. Ah my deare Brethren, deceiue not your selues, but rather calling to minde your owne frailtie, amende it, for it must needes bee true that all men say, and that which is so openly manifested to the whole world, to the greefe of all good men can not be hidden. But yet to let you to vnderstand why I haue inferred thus much as touching the licentiousnesse of this our time, because I see it is the only thing whereof our Aduersaries triumphe, yea it is their dayly aunswere: I will know them to liue better before I beleeue them, and as their liues doe varry from that which they preach and teache to others, so say they there is such vncertauntie in their doctrine, such discord and variaunce among them, scarse two remaining in one opinion, without any vnitye or concordaunce, that we know not whome to followe, and therefore vntill there be a better order taken, we aunswere with Horace, Nullius addictus iurare in verba Magistri. Thus hath the Diuell first by ouerthrowing the flesh and then secondarily sowing of diuers opinions in vnsetled heads, almost, nay I feare me altogether confounded the truth.

But

But the Lord of his goodnesse and mercy amend it and make vs so to shine in all godlinesse and pureness of life, that neither this old serpent, our deadliest aduersarie, neither any of his hyrelinges, maye haue any such cause hereafter to brag or boste of this their victory so ioyfully looked for, but as I hope, neuer to be obtained: And thus thinking both my labour, as also the trauaile of others nothing auaileable, to the amending of the conuersation of the outward man, excepte the inward man were first cured, and the abuses of those who hath the charge thereof sharpely rebuked, I haue presumed to vnburthen my conscience, desyring first of all the perfect ground of christian Religion, to bee surelye layde at the verye bottome of euerye Christian hart, with an vniforme consent of the truth among all men, before I woulde seeme to inferre the morall instructions of anye Paynime, being nothing comparable to the former, neither any thing profitable except the other bee firste rooted, (hoping also that the godlye and graue Fathers, and those whose harts doe as it were blede with sorrow to heare these my words will not seeme to take my sayings as any thing preiudiciall vnto them whose godly conuersation though I lewdly would reproue, yet would the world testifie the contrary, who both seeth and commendes it and earnestly also craueth their helping handes to the amending of the rest) I will retourne to my self again, who being as the Prouerbe is, the least of the twelue, haue taken vpon me to offer vnto your sightes and iudgementes these three Orations of that noble and famous Orator Isocrates, appertaining to the moral instructing and ordring of this our miserable life.

The

The which though they be written by a man altogither ignorant of that true and onely God, the Creator and maker of mankinde, yet doe they so neare agree, and accord with that Heauenly Doctrine of our cheefe maister and saviour Jesus Christ, that I hope no man will thinke the time ill spent which he shall bestow in the reading thereof, especially those which being bereft from the benefite thereof through their ignorance in the knowledge of the Greeke and Latine tongues, could not heretofore come to the perfite understanding of the same. And because the Authour himselfe, is in moste places of these his preceptes breefer then either the matter would require or that the capacitie of the meaner sorte can so easilye gather the meaning thereof, I haue not spared for their furtherance to adiome vnto diuers places certaine reasons and confirmations taken out of Aristotle & Tully, as occasion serued, comprobating and approuing the Authours intent. For according to the iudgement of Wolfius who learnedly hath translated the same out of the Greeke into Latine: that which Aristottle and Tully haue written in large volumes the same doth Isocrates comprehend in these his short sentences.

Thou shalt also finde coted in the Margent, diuers worthy examples gathered out of sundry writers, only to the intent to reproue the carelesnesse of this our time, in that being Christians excusing our selues by the frailtie of our weake natures, we willfully leaue those things vndone, which the very Heathen and Painimes most perfitely fulfilled and obserued. To vse many words in describing the determinated purpose of the Authour in these his three Orations, were

but superfluous labour, in that vnto the two latter there are prefixed two sundry Prefaces, and as for the first to containe the whole breefelye in one worde, it comprehendeth the perfect direction of the life of euery priuate person, no lesse delectable then profitable. And thus gentle Reader as one hauing detained thee ouer long from the reading of so learned a worke, as Isocrates is, I am humbly to craue thee, for my better incouragement in time to come, to yield vnto me in this my first enterprise, thy fauourable & louing countinaunce, waying my slenderneſſe and imperfection with the readineſſe and promptneſſe of my good will, and so excusing the one by the other to perswade thy selfe that if skill with will were agreeable, thou shouldest beare long receiue a larger volume, yea, though Zoylus shoulde spitte his spitefull poyson.

The Authours Enchomion vpon the Right

Honorable and his singuler good Lord, sir Thomas Bromley, the Lord Chaunceloure of England.

THe prouerb old saith, Iuie bushe
The goodwine needes not haue:
Him for to praise as vaine it were,
Whom no man doth deprave.
Onely that man doth like me best,
Whose life in vertue spent:
May praise it selfe as well approues
Themistocles consent,
Antagenes in like sort thought,
Himselfe as best esteemde:
When as of fewe his praise was spred,
Because to him it seemde
As vaine, to be with painted speache,
His actes resyted to heare,
Renowne to vertue due of right,
Of none though praisde she were,
Of my two Oxen which is best,
I knowe Lisander sayde,
Mute though they be and can not speake,
Which wordes as rightly wayde,
Learne vs to know that godly life
Doth alwayes with it bring
Eternall Fame, as iust rewarde,
Which from it selfe doth spring.
It is saith Bion best for him,
Who lewdly spendes his time:
To get some one his praise to penne,
Thereby to hide his crime.
As for that man whose worthy acts,
Declare his noble minde:
Needes no such thing, for vnto him
Tis due desert by kinde.

Which being true if that I should,
My ſelfe to time nowe frame:
And write his praiſe whom none diſpraiſe,
Then were I worthie blame.

No, no I will not I, leaſt that
Antalcidas ſtanding by,
Should me reproue as once he did
the man that would diſcry.
The valiaunt actes of Hercules high,
Wherefore for to exempt
My ſelfe from this by ſilence I,
Will labour to preuent:
So foule a checke and ſhall retire,
Accounting it as vaine,
To praiſe that wight whoſe vertues rare,
Ne deadlieſt foe can ſtaine:
Not doubting but as now he doth,
So aye he will remaine,
A Solon ſage Licurgus mate,
To ſeeke his Countries gaine:
And that ſuch fruites from learned lore,
ſhall dayly budde and ſpring,
As to himſelfe eternall fame.
By due deſert may bring,
Whoſe noble minde and worthy actes,
The Lord I craue to ſpeede,
That as the enteraunce he hath made
ſo ſtill he may proceede.
To God to Prince to common weale,
Obedience due to vſe,
And in behalfe of either three,
No labour to refuſe.
That both in life and after death,
With honour to his name:
He may poſſeſſe through his deſertes,
Eternall praiſe and fame.

Finis.

I. D. in commendation of the Author.

ATend you sages graue ye gallant youth drawe nere,
What so thou be perpend and view this glasse & crisstall cleare
Attentiuely see that thou marke these shadowes shewen thee here,
And as imprint in tender brest, in minde these preceptes beare.
If regall seate thou doe possesse, behold thy state at large,
Learne here to know what doth belong vnto a Princes charge,
Or if ought office els thou beare, marke well thy duety showen:
Looke on this glasse for frindly she will straitways make it knowē
whether right or wrōg thy dealings are wherby thou maist amēd
The thing amis and so thy selfe to countries profit bend.
And thou also which dost inioy the meane and simple state:
Whom it becomes as subiect true disloyaltie to hate.
Come set thy foote among the rest let touchstone true discry,
An honest life how thou maist lead with endlesse fame to die.
Ye to this glasse let eche approch for here may all men see,
To God to Prince to parentes eke what should their duetie bee:
A frind to chuse, a frind to vse, and flattering foe to shunne,
Is here exprest, w order due, how ech thing ought be doue, (frame,
Our harts our hands our gesture eke our tongues how we should
In actions all how we may deale to shunne perpetuall shame.
Lo here ẏ gaine which thou shall get, lo here ẏ frindly hart,
Which this my frind to cōtry beares who truely for his part.
And taken paines deserues for aye eternall praise to haue,
Which I his frind in his behalfe most humbly of thee craue.
What so thou be ẏ reads his booke, way well his willing minde,
And pardon graunt if ought amis thou chaunce herein to finde.

In praise of the Author.

AS sundry sightes and braue delightes,
The *Forrest* freshe doth yeelde:
Vnto eche wight who gentle right,
Doth ioy to raunge the feelde.
So *Forrest* here, my friend so deare,
Not altering natures kinde:
Doth sundrie sortes of braue disportes,
Most meetes for noble minde.

Set forth to ſhow, which when you know,
Imprint them deepe in breſt:
For you will ſay another day,
Of ſportes this is the beſt.
For youth once paſt when at the laſt,
The hoarie heares drawes neere:
Your ſelues no leſſe will ſure confeſſe,
That vertue hath no peere.
A godly life deuoide of ſtriffe,
A happie end doth bring:
But endleſſe ſhame with deepe defame,
By vicious life doth ſpring.
Wherefore in time doe take the prime,
This friendly Glaſſe peruſe:
And thankefull heart to him impart,
Which did no paines refuſe.
The ſame to frame vs to reclaime,
In what he might from ſinne:
That ſo at length through heauenly ſtrength,
We might Gods mercie winne.

Finis. S. Norreis.

The Booke to the Reader.

TO paint and pranke the outward hue,
Of fortunes flittering ſhowe:
Both he and ſhe moſt willingly,
their money doe beſtowe.
A Glaſſe to buy wherein they may,
Eche wrinckle right diſcry:
Which in their face or ought place elſe,
Shall ſeeme to ſtand awry.
Whereby I am enforſt to thinke,
Becauſe I paſſe the beſt:
I ſhall not long lie on this ſtaule,
Or as vnbought to reſt.
For I not onely doe expreſſe,
Howe beſt you may deuiſe,
To beautifie the outward ſhape,
In graue and comlieſt wiſe.

But

But in like ſoꝛte I alſo ſhewe,
And teache you howe to frame:
The inward man that ſo you may,
Your fancies all reclaime.
To reaſons rule in vertuous wiſe,
To runne this pilgrimes race:
Whereby in end you may poſſeſſe,
In heauens a happier place.
Beholde the pꝛofite which I bꝛing,
No glaſſe that thou canſt buy:
As matcH to me, then dꝛawe thy puꝛſſe,
Let nothing let me lye.
But take me home and euery day,
When leaſure doth thee ſeꝛue:
Doe looke in mee ſo ſhalt thou knowe,
When thou awꝛy doeſt ſwaꝛue.
Foꝛ nothing is which ought be done,
Towaꝛdes God oꝛ man likewiſe:
But pꝛeſently it ſhall appeare,
as plaine beſoꝛe thy eyes.
Thy thuoghts, thy woꝛdes, thy deedes, eche one,
Howe they ſhould oꝛdered bee:
I ſhall thee tell what ſo thou art,
Of high oꝛ lowe degree.
But though that I thus fꝛankely yeelde,
My ſeꝛuice foꝛ thy ſake:
Yet pitch the pꝛice with Pꝛinter fiꝛſt,
Beſoꝛe thou hence me take.
His due deſert foꝛ taken paynes,
Good reaſon that he haue,
My ſelfe my friend of thee naught elſe
But to be bought doe craue.

Finis.

Finis.

The firste Oration of Morall instructions, written by the famous and learned Orator *Isocrates*, vnto his friend *Demonicus*: containyng a perfite description of the duetye of euery priuate person.

AS vnto thee, deare friend Demonicus, as also vnto all others, it is manifestly apparent, howe greatly in moste thinges, the deedes and thoughtes of the godly and well disposed, doe differ and varry from the wicked pretenses and vayne imaginations of the dissolute and lewde liuers: so truelye in nothing moze, can this disagreeablenesse and contrarietye moze playner appeare, then if thou marke and consider the friendshyp and familliarities vsed of either of them: For the one onelye so long regardeth and reuerenceth his Friend, as he remayneth present with him: the other, when they are farthest asonder then are they moste carefull and louing, neuer vnmindfull, but alwayes aduudging the welfare of both to consiste in one. Also the loue which is among the wicked (if that may be counted loue to fauour anothers follye) is soone hote, and soone colde, continuing but a small time, but that true friendshyp and familliaritie of good men, no continuaunce of time can euer weare out, or by any meanes decay or infringe. The case therefore thus going, supposing that there is nothing moze requisite and necessary for those that desire to attayne vnto honour, and are willing to spend their youthfull yeares in the knowleuge of good Literature, then to appoynte with themselues to follow the pathes and steppes of the vertuous, as also with all care and dilligence, to shunne and eschew the fond indeuours and foolish practiles of euill men: I haue thoughte it good vnto that vse, to bestow vpon thee this breefe discourse, requesting thee to

The difference betwixt true and perfit friendshyp which is onlye among good men, and the fayned familliarity of the wicked.

By this comparison, and by other circumstances following, as also in shewing the cause of his writing to be in respect of the good will borne to the party to whome hee writeth, hee purchaseth the good will and attentiues of his hearers.

accept the same as an vnfained pledge of my good will borne towards thee, and also as a simple token and remembraunce of that old familliaritie and friendship, had in times past betwixt thy Father Hipponicus and me: For as the inheritaunce of his worldly wealth doeth of right dissend vnto thee, so in my iudgement also oughte the good will borne vnto the Father, remayne vnto his children, and for performaunce of the same in vs, time it selfe, yea and this our present estate of liuing, doe seeme as it were to yeelde their consent and furtherance thervnto, in that for thy part thou art desirous to be instructed, and paynefully giuest thy selfe to the searching oute of wisedome and knowledge, and I likewise do now bestow my time in the teaching and instructing of others, opening the verye readye waye vnto wisedome, vnto all those whom I shal finde carefull and willing to imbrace her: And although I must confesse that they whiche take in hand to wryte vnto their friendes some exhortation, or other as touching vertue, doe goe about a verye good worke, worthye of great commendations, yet doe they commonly leaue that vntouched, whiche is moste requisite and necessarye vnto the studye thereof in that they haue more regarde to set oute the same in filed and figured wordes, whereby they might bring them to a flowing and eloquente phrase of speeche, then to the amending of manners, or instructing of well liuing, but as those men profite moste whiche indeuoring both, haue greatest care to describe ỳ perfite platforme of an honest conuersation, then to the painting forth of their oratoriall skill: So surely are they moste worthy of all men to be highly prayed, and their workes with great diligence to bee carefully perused: Minding therefore not by the way of an exhortation, as they doe, vsing long and tedeous circumstaunces, but onely in setting downe breefely, certaine rules and precepts, to aduise thee both as concerning those thinges whiche are of all yong men to be followed and imbraced, as also contrarily,

If the loue that Micythus did beare vnto Anacilaus his Lorde had not continued vnto his children, he woulde not haue restored vnto them their Fathers Kingdome, and banished himselfe so willingly.

The error and bayne-glorious intent of diuers writers which couet more to be counted eloquent then to profite their hearers being a fault most common in these our dayes.

rily for the auoyding and eschewing of such thinges as are hurtfull, and pernitious. I haue in this short Treatise taken vpon me in few wordes to declare vnto thee, what company thou oughtste to frequent, as also howe, and after what sort the whole race of thy life is to be ordered and directed, for as the prouerbe is, the twigge being greene, is easily twined and twisted euerye waye: neyther hath Nature made any thing so fierce or wilde, but being yong, it may be brought easilye to a tame and tractable order. And as man ought to think the time neuer to soone to amend that which is amisse, (I meane to forsake folly) so surely, no season so temperate, wherein the seedes of vertue may better be sowne, to the taking of deeper roote, then are those tender yeares of our first age: What slouthfulnesse is there then in them: Nay rather what madnesse: which hauing a vessell so sweete, apt to receiue the best licour, will rather attaint it with the filthie dregges, and mustie smelles of corruptible vices, then in time to season the same with the pleasaunte sappe and redolent sauour of pure vertue, especially seing that here on earth, wee can not inioye or possesse any thing, either worthier or more certayne vnto vs: For breefely to touch those thinges which we make most account of: are not age and sickenesse mortall enemies to bewty, soone wasting and withering the same? As for riches, they are rather the procurers of mischiefe, then the furtherers of honestie, either inflaming the harte of man with haughtinesse and pride, or causing of slothfulnesse and idlenesse, or elle procuring of youth to fonde vanities, & filthy pleasures vtterly seducing them from all good order. Moreouer, the strength and valiantnesse of body, as it is profitable, being wisely and discreetely vsed, so is it moste hurtful to the possessors themselues, if it once stray aside from Dame prudencies traine, ta-

This caused the romains so carefullye to bring vp their youth, and to appoint euerye one to such a trade of life whereto hee should bee found apt at twelue yeares of age, because as witnesseth Horace, the earthen pot keepeth longest the sauour of that licoures wherewith it is fyrste seasoned.

1 All saying bewtie is vanity,

2 Socrates being asked what hee thought of the prosperous estate of a certaine king, abounding in great wealth, said:

I must first before I giue answere, know of you how much he is giuen to the desyre of vertue and knowledge, supposing the felicitie of man to consiste only in these two.

3 Bewty, riches, and strength of body, as also any other good gift, are rather hurtfull then profitable, if they be not vnder the gouernment of a discreete minde. Seneca.

king in her steede fond temerity and foolish hardinesse: For, as it is an Ornament setting forth a commendable comlinesse in the Champions body, so doe we daylye see it doth hinder the curing of the inward sore, in that, men trusting too much to their Bilboe Blades, voide of all feare, haue no respect to God, nor Godlinesse. 4 But in whome Vertue taketh her dwelling, where shee is once thorowly rooted, shee alwayes abideth and continueth with thee, eche daye togither with thy age increasing, chearefully accompanying thee, euen to the last gaspe, yea, (& that which is stranger) making thee being dead, as alwaies liuing. Those thinges whiche by no other meanes may be brought to passe, she only subdueth, willinglye vndertaking the hardiest and difficultst causes, accounting idlenesse as a vice moste detestable, and labour as her greatest felicitie. 5 As is manifested vnto vs by those singuler enterprises of Hercules, together with the valiaunt acts of Theseus, by which their exploites, Vertue being their guide, they haue obtayned that fame and renowne, that no age shall bee able to deface by obliuion, the worthinesse of their names. Thus all thinges else decaying, as subiecte to the frailtie of Fortune, only vertue remaineth vnuincible, And where as diuers and sundry examples might be alleaged, for confirmation of that which hath bene spoken, leauing them all as not necessarye in a matter so plaine, I will onely referre thee to the consideration of that moste perfite course which thy owne father here liuing obserued which will bee both a notable and a sufficient proofe in my behalfe, as touching this thing.

This my deare friende Hipponicus thy Father, in such sort ordered and framed his life, that he neuer semed in any respect, either a contemner of vertue, or louer of slouthfulnesse, but continually applying his body to trauaile and paine, lodged in his brest a most willing and ready minde, alway prest to vndertake any kinde of daunger, for the profiting of his countrey, or furtherraunce

4 Stilpo the Philosopher being asked by Demetrius (who had subdued and spoyled his countrey, what he had lost, answered that he had lost nothing that was his own, accounting vertue as onely permanent and certaine, and all other thinges as none of his, because they were transitory.

5 A renowned and vertuous lyfe procureth perpetuall fame and maketh the dead as alwayes liuing.

Antistenes.

The best instruction that the Father canne giue vnto the sonne, is the well ordring of his owne lyfe, for the childe thinketh it as lawfull for him to doe that which hee shall know his Father to haue done before him.

raunce of his friendes, in nothyng more waying or esteeming this worldly mucke, then that it might serue for his necessary vses, (6) hauing continually such care ouer his Family, as though he shoulde haue liued euer, and yet so vsing eche thing, as if he should die to morrow, only content with his owne, and not delighting in offering iniury to any, or being as one greedily coueting that which was an others. Neyther did he leaue this kind of life, after a base and obscure order, but it was done with great honour, and that with the praise and commendations of all men, (7) for he was a man both bountifull & liberall, to all his well willers, more esteeming a faithfull friend then a flattering kinsman adiudging that the confirmation and ground of true friendship did rather consist in the disposition of nature, then in ought law ordayned and constituted by mans reason, and that the lykelihoode and agreeablenesse of condicions, were of more force therein, then any bond of consanguinity, or kinred: (8) alleaging also good will as the principall cause thereof, and not the respect of necessitye, or the hope of gaine.

(6) We must liue to day, as if we shoulde dy to morow.

(7) Tully affyrmeth true friendship to surpasse Consanguinitye, in that a man may bee a kinsman, & not a friend.

(8) The grounde of true friendship is good will borne for vertues sake, and not for hope of gain, or in respecte of our owne necessity. Tully.

Truely time would fayle me, if I should particularly prosecute the rest of his worthinesse, wherefore leauing this to a fitter place, I haue here breefely shewne vnto thee a superficiall protracture of thy Fathers singuler disposition and nature, the which it becommeth thee to haue alwayes before thy eyes, as the marke whereby thou maist be directed, accounting his Godly conuersation as a Law, making continuall wondering at his vertues, and indeuouring as much as in thee lieth to counteruaile the same. (9) For whereas the Painter through Art, learned by dayly practise, obtayneth that skill, most liuely to shadow and deliniate the perfectst shape of the bewtifullst creature, with what infamie then are those children to be noted with, which hauing nature her selfe as a special furtherer of the same, and so louing a schole-mayster, euen their owne Fathers refuse to adde that

(9) We oughte studiously to labour to counteruayle the worthinesse of our auncestours.

little labour and care, to frame themselues to followe their steppes, liuely to present the worthinesse of theire vertues, as children being worthy of such parents.

(1) Shew the great negligence and folly of youth.

(1) But such is the folly of our time, that wee doe not onely leaue this vndone, but also worke rather the contrary, euery day through our lewde doinges, and licentious liuing, (2) staining and infaming the honour gotten by our Auncestoures, seating our selues with the note vpon of perpetuall ignomie, to the great discreadite and shame of all our kindered, giuing rather credite to the flattering tales of Sicophants and Ruffins, then to the sage and graue aduise of our owne naturall parentes, in so much, that if wee applye our shapes with theirs, wee shall finde so monsterous and so straunge a proportion, with such great difference that we may rightlyer be accounted Bastardes, then the legitimate sonnes of anye such men. (3) Now therefore to the eschewing of al these euils, and to show thy selfe as worthy of such a Father, perswade thy selfe that it is as needefull for thee, to bee as well furnished, and to haue as great a care in the vndertaking of this enterprise, as hath the worthiest champion when he entereth the Liste against all his aduersaries: And seing it were verye harde that any one should go about a thing so waighty except he were before hand well and thorowly instructed with diuers and sondrye good preceptes appertaining therevnto, I will therefore breefely indeuour to describe vnto thee how thou shalte best proceede herein, both to the obtaining of vertue, as also to the winning of eternall praise and honour to thee and to thy postery for euer. (4) For as the body by dayly and continuall exercises, is hardned, to the abyding and sustayning of any kinde of labour and trauaile, so surely is the minde of man to be practised and induced, by good and godly Discipline, that thereby it may be made willing & apt to be obedient to ỳ rule of reason, immitating the good, and auoyding the euill.

(2) This was the destruction of Commodus, as also Alexander the great through flattering of such forgetting himselfe, was sone brought to his end.

(3) I locrates hauing vsed these former wordes, as the preface or introduction vnto the matter, which he went about, now commeth vnto that which at the first hee had purposed

(4) The bodye saith Cicero, weareth weary through continual labour and trauayle, but the mind the more it is occupied, the fresher and lediet it is.

First therefore, aboue all thinges, remember duly and reuerently,

reuerently worship and honour the (5) Gods immortall, not only in offering vp sacrifices vnto them for their vnspeakeable benefites dayly bestowed vpon thee, but also in the obseruing and fulfilling of all such vowes iustlye and truely, which at any time thou shalte protest and sweare to fulfill, (6) for the former (whiche are thy Sacrifices and thankesgiuings) shall cause them the more aboundauntly to increase thy wealth, and to further thy intents. The other (I meane the obseruation of thy promises) will be a manifest proofe vnto all men, of thy integritye of life and honest conuersation. (7) And as it behooueth thee alwayes to bee minofull of his deuine power and omnipotencie, of whom also thou receiuest all that thou hast, so oughtst thou moste chiefelye so to doe, when as common solemnities are ordayned, generallye for the performing of the same, that by this thy consente it may appeare that thou honourest the same God with them, as also that thou art an obedient Subiect to the lawes of thy Prince.

(8) So vse thy selfe towardes thy Parentes, as thou wouldst wishe to be vsed thy selfe of thy owne children, when as thou shalt happen to be made a Father.

Practise only those excercises of body whiche maye make for the preseruation of thy health, nothing waying the vayne ostentation of Follye, in desiring to haue thy selfe accounted strong or mighty, least that by indeuouring more then thou art able, or attempting the thing which is aboue thy reach, thou shouldst chaunce to come to some mishap, and farther inconuenience, and this shalt thou easily performe, (9) if thou suffer not thy selfe to be wearied, or as it were ouer saciated and cloyed in anye kinde of thing which thou goest about.

Fauour not a flearing lookes, nor take no delight in a brasen face, for as the one is the signe of small grace

(5) Honour God aboue all thinges.

(6) Thy duty towards god is to loue and to worship him, and to offer vp the sacrifice of thankesgiuing for his benefits receaued: thy duty toward man is iustly and truely to perfourme thy promise both wordes and deedes agreeing in one.

(7) Pericles that worthy Athenian, would neuer vse any speech vnto the people, or consult of anye thing appertayning to the commoditie of his countrey, before he had besought the heauenly aid of God. Alexander the great also did vse enerye Morning the like excercise, and so did manye other heathen men, to the condemnation of vs counterfet christians.

According to Aristophanes, the delightfull thinges length water lothsome.

so doth the other betoken a simple witte: let thy countenaunce therefore be framed after a comely and graue order not frowning nor pouting for as the former is a perfect signe of great modestie, so doth the latter describe a proude and hautie minde, a froward hart and a froward nature.

Account these foure vertues, as thy chiefest furniture namely, Modestie, Sobrietie, Iustice and Temperancy, for in them is contained the perfect direction of mans life.

Traian the Emperour thought it not meete for a Prince to looke angerly or louringly vpon his people.

Doe nothing but that which thou carest not if all the world did see thee, for neuer thinke to keepe that secrete, which thou shalt commit at any time, if it be vnhonest, for in that thou indeuourest to conceale it from others, thou makest it alwayes as fresh in thy owne remembrance, so that continually it tormenteth thee and at the last it will burst out: moreouer doe not iudge that, as seeming to be spoken which is vnhonest to be done, alwayes hauing in thy remembrance these fowre thinges feare God, honour thy parence, reuerence thy friend and obey the lawes of thy Prince.

Remember to haue alwayes a cleare conscience.

Nothing so secretly done but at length it commeth to light.

For the refreshing and recreating of thy minde, vse such sportes as are agreeable to thy estate and honour, for as honest mirthe is commendable and profitable, so surely mirth without measure breedeth great inconueniences.

In all our doinges we must haue a care of our credite, committing nothing that is vnseeming. Giue no occasion of euil report.

Beware of false accusations and slaunderous reports for the common sort of people being ignorant of ỹ truth, as also rashe in iudgement, doe commonly geue their verdite either by heare say, or as affection leadeth.

Nothing more vnseeming then reprooving another to be found faulty thy selfe in the same.

Thou shalt greatly increase thy credit if thou be not founde faultie in those thinges which thou shalt seeme to reproue in an other body: alwayes so ordering thy selfe that thou mightes seeme to studie and to cause a certaine admiration to arise through the singularnesse of thy owne vertues.

Be willing to learne, so shalt thou profite much, indeuoring

uoring by dayly practise to keepe that thou knowest, as also to come to the vnderstanding of that which as yet thou art ignoraunt of, for it is as great a fault not to beare away a profitable lesson taught thee, as it is fondly to refuse the gift of thy friend when it is offered thee.

Also what leasure so euer shall fall out, bestowe the same in the studie of good literature for so it will come to passe that by dayly reading, thou shalt easely and afore thou art aware obtaine that skill which others before thee haue scarse gotten with great labour.

And whereas to heare and to knowe much surpasseth all worldly treasure in that the one is permanent & sure the other vncertaine and mutable, let it neuer greeue thee to vndertake a farre and painefull iourney to heare the wisedome & learning of such as are able to instruct thee therein, seeing that the marchant to increase his brickell treasure ventereth ouer so many perilous and daungerous seas leauing no place vnsought where he vnderstandeth any gaine may be gotten.

Be lowly in thy behauiour, and courteous in thy speache, vsing friendly salutations and gentle wordes towards all men, wherevnto thou shalt easely frame thy selfe, if thou frequent the company of good men, for so shalt thou be sure to shunne the euill will of many, and purchase in the ende both loue and credit with the best, but beware of many wordes, neither seeme to vrge one thing too often.

Enforce thy selfe willingly to take paines that if neede shoulde so require thou maist be able to abide it, carefully preuenting before hand the mischiefe that afterwardes may fall out.

Be sure to set thy heart free from the seruice of those whose seruauntes to be is accounted a vile and vntolle-

The worthinesse of King Augustus and Adrianus Emperours of Rome, the one suffering no day to passe, wherein he did not reade or write some excercise, the other so dilligent in learning the greeke tongue, that through his paines taken therein, he became so skilfull, that he was called Greculus. Scipio woulde omit no leisure giuen vnto him eyther at home or in Warre, nor Cato Vticensis, the very respite which he had eueu in the senate house, but that they would bee occupied in perusing of some Booke or other. Democritus trauailed into Egypt, as farre as the red Sea, to heare the Caldeans, Pithagoras also went into Persia to become a Scholler vnto the wise men of that countrey, called Magi.

Fair words and courteons speeches are to be vsed to all men.

Licurgus would not suffer the youth of Lacedemonia to weare eyther hose or Shoes. Phocion also of Athens, and Massinissa King of Numidia, went alwayes barefooted, and bareheadded, both in Warre and at home, euen in the coldest weather, hardning themselues against all aduersitie to come. Caius Fabricius did rather choose to eate his meate in an earthen platter, then to receiue the great treasure sent vnto him by King Pirrhus, Phocion also in like sorte refused the gifts of Alexander, because the receiuing of them was not honest.

How we may easily subdue the vaine motions and perturbations of our mindes, and namely these fower as principall, Couetousnesse, Wrath, the desyre of the flesshe, and Sorow.

rable seruitude, as namely, the desire of gaine, anger, pleasure and sorrowe, the which euils in this sort thou shalt easely withstande: first, account that onely to be gainefull vnto thee which is honestly gotten, and maketh to the increasing of thy honour and credit, and not those thinges which may serue for the inriching of thy cofers or stuffing of thy purse, as the vse of men is in this our time, then the which nothing is viler: Secondly, thy anger is soone appeased if thou would be content to shewe thy selfe such a one towardes him that hath offended or displeased thee, as thou thy selfe wouldest wishe to be ordered, if thou were in his case, alwayes hauing a respect to the fault committed and that with fauour, and not with extremitie.

Athenodorus the Philosopher being to departe from the Courte of Augustus, because of his age, at his departure gaue him this counsayle, doe nothing in thy anger before thou hast repeated ouer the greeke Alphabet.

As for pleasure shee is soone subdued, if thou either consider her ende, which is alwayes bitter, bringing only sorrowe and repentaunce when it is too late, or else if thou thorowly marke her vanitie, which scarce shewing her face, sodenly vanisheth away like a shadowe leauing nothing behinde her, but infamie and shame.

Men (sayth Tully) are taken with the allurementes of pleasure, as Fishes are with the bayte, and hereupon it is called a golden mischiefe, a sugred poyson, and a deceitfull Siren.

And nowe to come to the last: in thy aduersitie if thou doe but behold and consider the miseries and calamities of others, remembring also that thou art a man subiect to mishappes as they are, thou must of necessitie be forced patiently to abide the same, seeing it is not thy case alone, neither hath any creature here liued but tasted of the same cuppe were he neuer so fortunate.

Policrates the fortunatste that euer was, hauing neuer in his life felt what aduersitty ment, at length was hanged on a gibbet, by one Orontes a Persean.

Haue also greater care in geuing thy worde, then in lending thy money, for this being lost may be gotten againe, but the other once broken is vnrecouerable: wherfore it is the part of a good man so to deale, that the integritie of his life may be such that his worde may be as soone taken as his othe: And as I would haue thee to

Sayth more to be esteemed then money.

gine

The renowned Regulus was contente willingly to suffer the cruell torementes of his enimies, rather then to breake his faythfull promise made vnto them for his returne.

As Socrates is reported to haue had alwayes one manner of countenaunce, both in prosperitie and aduersitie, so likewyse he is sayde to haue bene so constant in his wordes that he neuer varied in any thing.

giue this credit to the wordes of an honest man, so trust not at all to any wicked or euill disposed person, neither doe thou commit the secretes of thy hart to any, but onely to those to whom it shall appertaine, as carefully to keepe the same secret, when they heare it, as it doth vnto thee who telles it.

Papirius would not disclose, no not to his owne mother the secretes of the Senate of Rome.

If it shalbe lawfully required at thy handes it shalbe lawfull for thee to take an othe so that it be for either of these two causes as to purge and to cleare thy selfe from the infamie of any hainous crime falsly obiected against thee, or else to ridde and to deliuer thy friend from trouble being eyther vniustly accused, or wrongfully oppressed, the truth whereof to thee onely knowne, is not to be concealed, neither for feare or affection, but in money matters it shall not be lawfull for thee to sweare by any God, although it be that thou canst doe it with a cleare conscience, least that therby any one might adiudge thee either periured in swearing, or too to couetous in thy dealinges.

Thou mayste lawfully sweare for two causes.

We will in these dayes rather forswere our selues so that we maye haue gaine therby, then it shal be lost for lacke of swearing.

Make no league of friendship with any, before thou haste thorowly tried his nature, and conuersation, as also howe and after what sort he hath dealt with others, through which thou mayst coniecture and hope that hee will be likewise affectioned towards thee, as hee hath bene vnto them, but to the end that neither thou maist be ignoraunt of thy friends conditions, neither yet haue any cause afterward to try to thy cost, as it oftē faleth out thou shalt pretend thy selfe then in most necessitie, when as thou haste least neede, or else seeme to impart that as a great secrete whereof thou haste no care, and thus if he be vnfaithfull, thou shalt be sure to take no harme, but hauing vndermined his pretended amitie, and rebuking him for his folly, learne to be more circumspect in trusting him or any other hereafter. And as I would wishe thee to take leisure and good aduise in knitting of this knot, so woulde I also that when it is once finished, it should neuer be broken, but that it should alwayes be ob-

Very necessary rules as touching friendship.

As did that Romain of whome Plutark writeth in trying the faithfulnesse of his wife, in committing vnto her a fained tale, in steade of the secret which she desyred to know.

The faithfulnes of friends might be confirmed by diuers histories plainly shewing the singulernesse and sundry commodities of true friendship, but the only saying of Dionisius the Tyraunt shall now suffice, who comming into his sonnes Closet, and there finding diuers rich iewels which he had giuen him, sharpely rebuking his sonne, sayd: I gaue thee not these Iewels to hoord vp in a corner, but rather to bestowe them vpon others to get the friendship and loue of thy people thereby, for friendes are a surer defence vnto the state of a kingdome, then is gold or siluer. Hereto agreeeth the Posie that was in Catoes Ring.

Be thou a friende to one, and a foe to none.

The touchstone to try a friend is aduersity, as proued Tarquinius the proude, who being banished, then affirmed that he vnderstoode what

serued as long as it containeth it self within the bounds of true friendship, which is neuer to swarue from vertue for truely it were better to haue no friend at all, then to vse any chopping or chaunging in friendship. And as the pureness of the golde is tried by the Fornesse, so is the faithfulnesse of friendes by aduersitie, suppose therefore those frindes as most sure and trustie vnto thee, which are not onely sorie for thy misfortunes and miseries willing to be partakers and sustainers of the same, to the intent that the burthen may seeme the more tollerable vnto thee: but also such as will not pyne or be greeued at thy prosperitie, as those which are lothe to see any other to fare better then themselues: for there are many men which as they are sorie for thy mishappes, so will they commonly enuie at thy felicitie. Nowe therefore as thou must be circumspect in chosing and trusting thy friend, so must thou be carefull in the ordering and keeping of so great a treasure once gotten. This loue therfore, as is before sayd taking her beginning from vertue through the agreeablenesse of conuersations & natures, by increasing the same by dayly societie and mutuall amitie profered and vsed one towardes the other, thou must remember not to demaunde or request any thing of this thy friend that is vnlawfull or vnhoneste: thou must not looke to be intreated or staie vntill thou be requested to doe this or that in his behalfe, but as one hauing as great a care of him as of thy selfe, thou must voluntarily of thy owne accord onely of good will, seeke to further and pleasure him as muche as in thee lyeth, reioysing when occasion shalbe giuen thee, wherein thou maiste profite him: Also thou must thinke it as great infamie to be excelled and surpassed of thy friend in boutifulnesse and liberalitie, as it would be a griefe vnto thee to bee foyled by thy enimie. Thou must alwayes haue that credite

friends and what foes he had, being then not able either to pleasure his friends, or to reuenge his enemies. Titus Vaspasian would say, that that day was lost, wherin he had not pleasured some one of his friends. Scipio Africanus also would neuer depart from the market place, vntill he had through his liberality and friendly courtesye, procured the good will of one of them into whose company he happened that day.

dite in thy friend as thou hast in thy selfe, neuer suspecting or misdoubting any thing, or geuing eare to any false report wherby dissention might arise, but louingly reuerencing one another, you must take in good parte eche others doinges and sayinges, content sometimes to be rebuked or reproued as occasion serueth, whether it be either sharpely or kindly: moreouer thou must neuer be vnmindfull or forgetfull of thy friend, but euen then when he is farthest off or longest absent, he must continue as still in presence, and as one alwayes before thy sight.

Lycurgus was wont to say that we should eate no more meate then to satisfie our hunger, neither vse more garments, then were requisite to withstand the colde, and to couer our bodies

Claudia a gentlewoman of Rome accounted as vnhonest because of her curiositye in Apparell.

Scipio Aemilius, contented himselfe only with such things as were necessary for his affaires nothing respecting eyther the aboundaunce of wealth or princely porte but desyring rather that occasion might be giuen to the people to speake of his valyaunt acts, then of his great treasures.

Let thy Apparell be comly and decent, voyde of all vayne superfluity and fond brauery, for as a seming garment doth set out the body in comly sorte, containing in it a token of great grauitie and wisedome, so doth the other shew forth a light minde and a proude hart.

Desire not the aboundaunce of wealth, neither seeke for excesse gain, but so deale, that thy goods may be both necessary and profitable vnto thee, accounting that onlye as necessary, which serueth to a good vse, & that also as profitable whiche is well bestowed. As for those men whiche take great care and paines to increase their substaunce, and then when it is gotten, are ignorant howe to vse it, refraine them as those which are subiect to their owne follie, being most like vnto that man whiche bestowing greate charges to buy a goodlye and statelye Courser and when he hath gotten him, neither dareth to come on his backe, neither knoweth howe to order him, but onely keepeth him to suffice his eye, for the satisfaing of his fancie.

The worthy Ladye Cornelia after she had shewed all the commodities of her house vnto a stranger of Campania, that lodged with her as a geste, added last of all, as the chiefest furniture of her house, her two sonnes, who for their learning and wisdome were then as renowned through out all Rome.

As the chiefest furniture, and bewty of thy house doth consist in the purchasing of good will and credite by thy well doinges, whereby perpetuall renowme is gotten to thee, and to thy posterity, and as it is thy duety to see thy children and family well instructed, and trained vp in the Scoole of Uertue: So likewise it shall be requisite and necessary for thee, especially for two causes, to doe thy

Such is the mutabilitie of Fortune, that sometime she exalteth the poorest to highest degree, as Agathocles the sonne of a porter, to be king of Sicilia. Telephanes of a cart maker to bee king of Lidia and Justinus of a swineherd to be an Emperour of Rome, with Darius of Persia, Ptolomeus of Egypt, and Basilius of Macedon, and diuers others, sometimes also, shee bringeth the mightiest to greatest pouertie, as Dionisius king of Sicilia to keepe a Schoole, Bazaites king of Turkie to eate the crummes vnder Tamberlanes Table, Belisarius after many victories to begge, and rich Crassus to come to extreme penury. As proued Marcus Tullius, being slaine of Pomptius, whome before he had saued from the Gallowes, the like also did Publius Sertilius to Lucius Cesar his deerest friend.

indeuour to augment and increase thy worldly wealth: First, to be the better able to abide and sustaine the bitternesse of aduersitie, if it shall chaunce to happen: Secondly that thou maist helpe thy friend in his necessitie: prouide for thy children, and haue a competent sufficiencie for time to come, so that in the getting of these things there bee no greedye desire in thee, nor oughte vniust or wrong dealing towards any, holding thy selfe content with that thou haste, and yet as one seeking by all honest meanes to better thy estate.

Seeme not to deride or to haue in scorne the miserable estate of any man, neither doe thou hitte any thing opprobriously in his teeth, for though thou seest this thy present state, yet knowest thou not what will happen vnto thee hereafter, seeing thou hast no more assurance of fortune then he had.

Forget not also to doe good vnto good men and as much as in thee lyeth, bee readie to profite and to pleasure them, for the benefites bestowed on such are as a most precious treasure with which thou being throughly stored and inriched, maist account thy selfe to liue in greater safetie then he that possesseth a kingdome abounding in greatest wealth: as for the wicked haue no acquaintaunce with them, for by deseruing well at their handes thou shalte gaine no more then they doe which giue bread to another mans dogge, for as the dogge doth commonly barke as well at those that feede them, as at others, so is it the vse of euill disposed persons, as well to seeke to displeasure them of whom they haue receaued greatest courtesie, as them of whom they haue sustained greatest iniurie, so that to be conuersant with lewde and wicked companie is as it were to treade bare footed among thornes, or as it fareth with him which would suffer a snake to breede in his bosome: and among this company of detestable creatures, remember as carefully to shunne, and eschew the sugered poyson closely couched vnder the fawning faces and glosing wordes of flatte-

ring

ring and diſſembling Sycophantes, as thou wouldeſt indeuour to flie & auoide the vileſt couſeners and craftieſt deceauers, for both their dealinges and meaninges are a like as ſure to truſt to as is a broken ſtaffe to leape ouer a dike: naye to ſpeake further by ſuche cuſtomers, and moſte vile companions, thou ſhalte looſe the loue and friendſhip of all good men in ſo much that when thou art brought to extreeme miſerye (of the which thou muſt make a iuſt accoume:) thou ſhalt be ſhalt be ſure to be left deſtitute of all helpe, as for them if they woulde not forſake thee (as there propertie is) yet can they not pleaſure thee at all, being neither of habilitie able (becauſe they liue by others mens tables) neither of any credite that there wordes may ſerue or betaken in any reſpect to farther thee.

Flatterers and Coloners al one

No truſt nor credite to be giuen to the wordes of a wicked man.

Uſe courteſie and lowlineſſe both in behauiour and in ſpeache vnto all thoſe which ſhall come to common and to talke with thee, for if ſeruauntes can ſcarſe abide the haughtie and hotte wordes of their maiſters, much leſſe will they take in good part thy arrogant and loftie ſpeaches which owe thee no more ductie then thou ſhalt deſerue at their handes, through the good vſing of thy ſelfe. As for lowlineſſe thou ſhalt eaſely retaine her with thee, if thou wilt obſerue theſe thinges: namely, be not contentious, be not froward nor fromward, bee not peruerſt or ouerthwart in thy dealinges, auoyde all quarrelling and brawling, ſee alſo that thou adde not worde for worde, neither ſtande too ſtiffely in thy opinion, no though any of thy companions or friendes happen to be angrie and moued with thee without a cauſe, doe rather beare with him vntill this heate be paſt, and ſo when he is cooled friendly rebuke him, and gently ſhewe him his follie: for anger blindeth the minde and robbeth a man of all his vnderſtanding and iudgement.

Curteous ſpeeches ſayth Valerius Maximus appeaſeth anger, mitigateth the wrath of the greateſt tirannt and is the onlye meanes to win the good wil and loue of all men.

Moreouer ſeeme not to dally or to ſporte in any earneſt matter neither bee thou too earneſt in any trifling cauſe, for thinges vnorderly vſed, breede farther trouble which

Poſſidratus being reuiled with diuers opprobrious ſpeeches by his friend Traſippus at a Supper did not onely beare with him forgiuing the offence, but alſo the next day friendly talking with him, continued with no leſs good wil then he did before.

which other wise being taken heede vnto in time, were soone ended with small charges and little labour. Seeke not to currie fauour with any, neither be thou an accuser or a finde fault for it is both odeous and reprochfull, as also causeth enmities and debates to arise. Finally, be no intermedler in other mens matters more thē thou art requested, dealing therein vprightly, procuring vnitie and peace rather then any dissention or variance, geuing good counsaile and faire language to all manner of persons, remembring that a gentle aunswere, is as good cheape as a foule.

Pickthankes and busy medlers are to be shunned.

Moderate and honest banqueting tollerable.

Thou shalt doe nothing better then to refraine thy self from banketing and feasting, but if it so fall out that of necessitie through the intreatance of thy friendes thou must of force keepe company, beware of surfeting and excesse quaffing of wines, least thou become drunken then the which nothing is beastlier or abhominablier: for drunkennesse depriueth thee of all thy sences, robbeth thee of that principall gift of reason, maketh thee more odious then the brutest beast, and taketh from thee the knowledge of God and man, headlong carrying thee away into a thousand euills most like vnto a wagon, the which the horses hauing lost their guide, doe hale vp and downe vntill it be broken to fitters.

In his drunkennesse Alexander killed his dearest friendes, Cleomines king of Sparta became madde, Armitus a Siracusan ranished his owne daughter, Caligula wasted his treasure, and Nero became so beastly that in steede of Tiberius Nero he was called Biberius Mero Diuers others also, through the iust plague of God haue died in this their abhominablenesse.

Let thy chiefest desire be to winne immortall praises, & renown through the valiauntnes and magnanimitie of a noble and inuincible minde, being neither incensed by prosperitie to be haughtie or proude, neither so discouraged through aduersitie, as to become timerous or fearefull: but in such sort ordering thy selfe in all things that neither mony may corrupt thee, nor affection moue thee, nor anger prouoke thee, nor pleasure alure thee, neyther death her selfe compell thee from the executing of iustice and equitie, indifferently to al men, accounting with thy selfe

Pericles could be induced by no intreatance of any friend, to bee present at any Banquet.

As Scipio Africanus the elder deserued with the best immortall praise, and commendations of all men, for his greate Conquestes, valiauntnesse of mind, and integritie of life, so did he purchase greater fame in humbling himselfe so lowly towardes all men in his greatest prosperitye, in refusing so great honours as were offered him by the Senate and people of Rome.

selfe that herewnto thou hast no deadlier enimie then is ignorance, nor contrarily no greater friend nor better helpe then is knowledge and vnderstanding, for as from the one commeth no profit nor goodnesse, but rather hurt and sundry inconueniences, so surely from the other proceedeth the perfection of all that hath beene before rehearsed, making thee of a painted wall a liuely creature, and of a senceless stocke a wittie Counseller.

Ignorance one deadliest enemy.

If thou shalt fall into any consultation with thy selfe as touching thinges to come, the best way is to make coniecture by things past what is likely to happen hereafter: First therefore hauing had a perfect consideration of thy owne estate waying well eche thing that is incident and appertaining to the same, as well casting the worst as construing the best, thou must then cal to thy remembrance the euentes and happes of other men, which haue heretofore liued in that order, and degree of calling wherein thou nowe doest remaine, & so from them drawing, a perfect draft by comparing of thinges paste with thinges present, thou shalt easely deserue and iudge of thinges to come, for nothing is or shalbe hereafter but that the like hath happened in former time, so that thou canst not misse of some example or other, whereby thou maist be directed, learning by other mens harmes to beware and so to shunne that which might be hurtfull vnto thee: And nowe as touching those thy deliberations and aduisementes to bee vsed in eche matter, it shalbe good for thee therein to take time and leasure, touching euery part as it were to the quicke, before thou begin to enterprise or to take in hande any thing, but yet see that in the executing and dispatching thereof, thou vse all kinde of diligence and speede, for nothing is more daungerous then procrastenation: And as God hath bestowed vpon vs, nothing more excellent then is a good fortune, that is then to preserue & to direct all our doings to the best, so surely the singulerst thing that proceedeth from man towardes himselfe, is good aduisement and a prudent

How thou shalte best forecast and prouide for time to come.

Because moste men are so blinded, saith Democritus, that they can not or will not perceiue their own faultes and doe most easily see and vnderstand that which is amis in an other, it shall bee best for them to marke other mens doinges, and so by theirs to amend their owne.

Thales Milesius being asked what was the wisest thing, he answered time because it trieth out the truth in euery thing.

dent foresight: And seeing we are often times compelled to aske the aduise of another, therein also are these caueates to be obserued. First, as touching the partie of whom we aske counsaile, in whom we must note these three thinges, his wisedome and knowledge, his report and credite, the good gouerning and well ordering of his owne affaires, for he can not commonly further another man which knowes not howe to profite himselfe: secondly, as in respect of our selues, and the thing to be demaunded. If the matter that thou wouldest aske aduise and counsaile of, be such that thou wouldest not haue it openly knowne, and yet because thy owne wit will not serue to comprehend the same, but that thou must needes shew it to another, herein it shalbe best for thee to deale as it were a farre off, and framing thy talke as of some other matter, putting the case to be in some such like thing and so by the vsing of certaine interrogations and questions thou shalt priuily vndermyne his meaning, and come to some light in the matter which thou didst before doubte of, and yet not describing thy selfe to be the partie, neither the thing at all to touche thee: Nowe the third Caueat is concerning the counsaile giuen, which must bee well waighed and considered, for the Syrens sweete harmonie is the poore shipmans subuersion & the strongest poyson is commonly contained in a golden Goblet, many there be which will pretend in wordes to bee thy dearest friendes, bearing thee in hand that they seeke only thy commoditie, caring for nothing more then if in ought they may pleasure thee, protesting euen death for thy sake, ye and if wordes will not serue to bring thee to their baite they will not spare also to doe somewhat or other for thee, wherein their good will may seeme to appeare when as in verye deede they minded nothing lesse. Therefore to escape these their hookes, so sweetely baited: haue more respect vnto their meaning then to their wordes vnto the soundnesse of their counsaile, then to their painted speache, vnto the truth and faithfulnesse of the

What thinges are to be obserued in asking the aduise of any other.

In this sort did Erastratus deale to vnderstande the minde of his Lord and mayster Seleucus, King of Siria, that so without danger he might vtter that which he purposed.

Though Zopirus pretended the safety of the Babilonians, yet as soone as hee had obtained his purpose, he betrayed them into the handes of Darius.

Perpenna pretended greate friendship towards Quintus Sertorius, and yet ment he nothing lesse, for desyrous to haue the gouernment of Spaine, as only in his owne hands, courteously inuiting him to supper, he cruelly slue him.

the heartes together with their honest conuersation o life, then to their fayned lookes or flattering tongues: alwayes waying, and pondering with thy selfe why and wherefore this friendship is showen thee.

Being then as moste carefull to preuente the greatest mischiefe when as thou thinkest thy selfe in moste safety herin, immitating the vse of those men, which to cōtinue, & to keepe their bodies in perfect health, do continuallye seeke to auoyde all those thinges which they knowe or can learne to be hurtfull, or vnholsome for them, for as calling to remembraunce the great griefes and vntollerable paynes, which we abyde and susser in our sickensse, we will haue the greater care, to preserue our selues in health, so surely, if we woulde not forget the sundry inconueniences which rashenesse bringeth we would soone be wiser, both in our deliberations as also in all our other affaires and dealinges.

When as Epaminundas did se the people of Theabes moste merriest, banqueting and feasting on the other then was hee most heauiest and saddest, fearing and misdouting least some mishap woulde follow thereon, for he wel knew that aduersity is as handmayd to prosperitie.

As it is commendable to immitate the good conditions and vertues of any man, so nothing more vnseeming then either to be counted Dionisius Dogge with Aristippus, or to vphold the follye of Alexander with the Parasite Sages.

Haue in admiration the vertue and princely maiestie of the King thy gouernour, conforming thy selfe in all thinges to his will and pleasure, studying most earnestly to immitate, the sincerenesse and integritie of his life so shall the people the better like of thy dealinges, and the King himselfe haue greater cause to be well affectioned towardes thee, and that so muche the more if thou showe thy selfe a faithfull obeyer of his lawes and commaundementes, as also an earnest maintainer of the same, not seeking to conseale or to keepe counsayle with any other which by worde or deede shall goe about to doe contrarie to the Kinges pleasure, or to impaire the royall estate of his Crowne and dignitie: or in corrupting of his lawes by there lewde inuentions, and subtill interpretations, alwayes finding some starting hole or other to preuent the statute or else through fawning on some noble man to get some licence or other to profite himselfe, to vndoe many thousandes.

A vice most vsuall in these dayes

Wherefore when thou shalt be aduaunced to honour, be mindefull hereof seeking rather to care for the com-

The duty of those which are in authority.

modities of all men indifferently, then for the profiting of one man to hinder the rest: geue not thy counsaile and aduise to the making of a good law, and then afterwards to be a meanes to breake the same againe. For the auoyding whereof take good heede that thy vnder officers whom thou shalt admit as furtherers of thy charge, bee none of those which vse to see with one eye and to wincke with the other, hauing their handes open, their eares stopt, and their consciences as wide mouthed as a Faulconers bagge: for surely the infamie of their euill dealinges, shalbe imputed vnto thee, vse thy office as a steward doth his stewardship vnder his lorde to the gaine of his maister, and not to his owne aduauntage: for thou oughtest rather to indeuour to leaue thy office with honour and good will gotten, by the well gouerning of the same, then to be accounted the wealthier or ỹ richer thereby: for the good report and praise made of thy iust and vpright dealings, is more to be esteemed and regarded, then the increase of thy wealth, preferring alwayes honest pouertie, before the abundance of euil gotten goods, the one pleasuring thee but for a small time, the other causing thee to be well spoken of, euen when thou art dead. As for riches waigh them not neither haue any desire to bee like vnto any of those whome thou shalt vnderstand to bee inriched by any vnlawfull or vnhonest meanes, but showe thy self a friend and fauourer of those whiche shall sustaine wrong for righteousnesse sake, for wealth is a thing incident as well to the wicked as to to the godly, but righteousnesse is the onely propertie of good men, who if in nothing else, yet in this thing especially they excell the wicked in that they haue alwayes through her a good hope and a quiet conscience, whereas the other dispayring through their owne mischieues, remaine continuallye tormented and vexed, with the guilti-

Salenus though he were intreated to the contrary, would not suffer his owne sonne to goe vnpunished, whereby the law which he had made, might not bee broken, but to obserue the same did pluck out one of his own eyes, and another of his sonnes, the law being, that whosoeuer did offend in adultery, should haue his eyes plucke out.

Spurius Cassius and Titus Manlius shewed themselues suche maintainers of the lawes of their countrey that they spared not to put to death their owne sonnes, being found transgressors.

Paulus Aemilius brought nothing home vnto his owne house of all that treasure which he had gotten in Macedonia, but onely a perpetual memory of his worthy enterprises, & hauing bene consull diuers times, in the ende died so poore that hee was fayne to be buried by the common treasure.

Themistocles had rather to marry his Daughter to an honest man being poore, then to a riche man being vicious, for though sayth Tully thou maist be the richer through thy welth for a time yet can they not make thee any the honester.

guiltineſſe of their offences, inuitating therefore the perfect ſteppes and pathes of the righteous showe thy ſelfe no helper nor furtherer of any euill cauſe leaſt men ſhould conceiue that opinion of thee that as thou maintaineſt the wrong of another, thou thy ſelfe wilte alſo practiſe the like in any matter of thy owne, doe thou therefore ſo behaue thy ſelfe, that thoughe thou arte in higher authoritie, and canſt doe more then another, yet thou maiſt ſeeme alwayes to liue as one ſubiect to the ſame lawes as other are, executing iuſtice not for feare of offending or as fedde with vaine glory, but onely for the ſeale and loue thou beareſt vnto equitie her ſelfe.

As it is infamie to vpholde the cauſe of any lewd perſon, ſo greate praiſe is goten by opening and detecting their wickednelle, as happened to Marcus Antonius for accuſing of C. Norbanus and vnto Iulius Ceſar for detecting of M. Albutius.

And as thou oughteſt to be carefull for the obtayning and getting of all ſuch thinges as are neceſſarie to the maintenance of thy eſtate, ſo eſpecially vſe greateſt labour, & indeuour in the bedecking thy minde with thoſe moſt precious pearles, namely learning and knowledge that thou maieſt be able to bring to perfection, thy owne determinations, & as it were a farre off to foreſee things to come without the helpe of another, for in the body of man there is nothing contayned more worthyer or more excellent then is a wiſe and diſcrete minde the which perceiuing all earthly thinges as vncertaine, vaine and tranſitorie, will neither be ouer haughtie or inſolent in proſperitie neither it too too cowardly or faint harted in aduerſitie, but pacientlly abyding the pleaſure of God, alwayes hoping for the beſt, and yet condemning himſelfe as vnworthy of the worſt. But as I diſcommend an arrogant and haughtie minde, bragging and preſuming vpon the multitude of his riches, or in the greatneſſe of his power as alſo the baſe mindes of thoſe which are either altogether diſcomforted with ỹ leaſt blaſt of aduerſitie or elſe doe ragingly and furiouſly vexe and greeue thereat, ſo doe I alſo account it lawfull for a man to reioyce and to be glad in his proſperitie, not being vnthankefull for the ſame, vnto him of whome hee hath receiued ſo good hap and fortune, yet woulde I that both

Plato being aſked how long he would be a ſcholler, aunſwered: vntill I repent me that I am made wiſer.

We muſt not thinke our ſelues as worthy of the worſt, and yet muſt wee hope for the beſt.

this ioy as also that pacience to bee vsed in aduersitye, should be as it were ouershadowed, that is moderatelye and discreetely ordred, for if with great care wee keepe secrete in our houses from the knowledge of others, oure mucky masse of Golde and siluer, with other treasures, whereof we make any account, then howe vnseeming a thing were it for vs so to deale, that euery one should vnderstande and perceiue the intente and purpose of oure hartes, then the whiche nothing ought to bee more secrete.

But where as there are many men, whose tongues runne before their wittes, no sooner thinking ought in their minds, but straight wayes they babble it out to others, I would wishe thee to remember, to reuolue and consider with thy selfe before hand, euery thing whereof thou mindest to speake, so shalt thou be sure to auoyd and escape all kinde of reprehension, the ignomie and infamy whereof, ought as greatly to be feared of all good men, as death it self is horrible and terrible to the wicked and vngodly. And nowe the better to order thy selfe in this thou shalt vnderstand that there are two times or seasõs to speake in: the one is, when as thou secretly consultest as touching those thinges which remaine as knowne only to thy self, and in these causes it shalbe better for thee to holde thy peace then to speake at all: least thou bee thought to vtter a thing vntrue, and so to bee deemed a common tale teller or fabler, or else seeme to disclose that which ought to haue been consealed, in respect of thy owne commoditie which nowe being made common to many, may turne as well to thy hinderaunce and hurt, as to thy furtheraunce or profite. The other time or rather occasion of speaking, is when as thou doest discourse and reason of thy necessarie affaires and businesses and of such thinges which are necessarily to bee imparted and vttered

M. Antonius so discreetely behaued himselfe in all his doinges, that men coulde not gather by any outward appearaunce, what was the inwarde thoughte of his hart, for neither prosperity nor aduersitie could cause him to change his countenaunce.

Cecilius Metellus being asked by one of the Tribunes of the people, what he ment to doe, Answered: If I thought this garment which I haue on my back were priuie to my thought, I would throwe it off, and burne it in the fyre.

The first thing that Pithagoras did teache his Schollers, was to keepe silence, Agatho healde a stone in his mouth three yeares to hinder his speeche, that thereby he might learne to holde his peace.

Zeno hauing inuited the Ambassadors of king Antigonus, and diuers other Philosophers to supper, when as all the rest of the company had vsed speeches in the commendacions of their knowledges, as occasion of talke was giuen, hee onelye was found to hold his peace, the which the Ambassadours perceiuing and wondering thereat, demaunded of him what was the occasion that he was so mute, nothing sayd he, but to let you vnderstande that the hardest thing of all is to holde ones peace.

vttered vnto others, and herein it shalbe requisite for thee to preferre sober and discrete talke before foolishe silence, for as it is singuler wisedome to vse fewe wordes or none at all, at sometimes and in some cases, so is it meere folly to refraine the same, the place and time requiring the contrarie.

A time to speak and a time to hold thy peace.

And nowe last of all, and especially aboue all other thinges, indeuour to liue quietly, so shalt thou not onely prolong thy dayes in great safety, but also be the readier and the mindefuller to obserue and to followe eche thing before prescribed, for being vexed and disquieted in mind itmust needes followe that thou wilt become forgetfull of thy duety, and so to transgresse the boundes of vertue, but yet I woulde haue thee to auoyde idle and lothsome securitie, and when time shall so require willingly to yeld thy selfe to the vndertaking of any daunger, or trouble in any honest quarrell, as in defence of thy countrey, for the maintenance of equitie and iustice, or for the furraunce of thy friend in a iust and right cause: wherein as much as thou maiest respecting thy honour it behoueth thee to haue care for thy owne preseruation, and not rashly to venter thy selfe further then wisedome shall direct thee, so that thereby no infamie nor dishonour may arise, otherwise it shalbe more better valiantly to die in fielde then to liue with shame and discredite, for as nature hath pronounced the condempnation of death, as a generall iudgement vnto all men, so hath she allotted and assigned an honorable and honest ende as peculier and onely proper to the valiaunt and vnuincible courage of a noble heart.

A quiet life bringeth sundry commodities.

To obtaine the quietnesse of minde, sayth Tully, diuers Philosophers, many noble princes, and other graue and wise mencontemning the vanitie of the world, haue liued solitarilye content with a little.

Lothsome security is to be shunned.

When as M. Scaurus vnderstoode that his sonne was run out of the fielde, and had taken himselfe to flight with other Romaines, as not daring to incounter with the cimbrians, againste whome they were sent, willed one of his seruaunts to certifie his sonne that he should come no more in his sight, seing he had so infamed his Auncestours, for said he, I had rather to haue seene thy body dead in the fielde, then once to behold thy Cowards face now liuing

Thus haue I briefely discoursed and described vnto thee, that which at the first I had purposed and determined, wherein (as well I knowe) I haue touched diuers and sundry thinges, neither meete nor necessary to haue been

Androclidas being found fault withall, in that being lame hee woulde enter into the Battell, aunswered it must be the intent of those that come into the fielde with weapons against their enemies, not to runne away, but to fight.

been spoken of, as altogether disagreeable to these thy yeares and present state of liuing, whereat perhappes thou wilt wonder, I therefore let thee to vnderstand that the ende of this my determination was euen in an little treatise, to set forth vnto thee as well the thinges now or heretofore requisite and necessarie to haue been vsed and obserued on thy behalfe, as also that which is hereafter to be practised and done either by thee, or by any other which is desirous through his well doinges and good behauiour to obtaine and winne eternall praise and memorie: And whereas I considered with my selfe that it was a very hard and difficult thing for a man to finde a faithfull and friendly counsayler (although experience might haue taught thee as much as I haue saide) to the intent thou shouldest not neede to goe any further to seeke any aduise herein of any other, but that thou mightest take from hence as from a most plentifull storehouse, all suche thinges as might be expedient and profitable for thee in time to come, as well as now, I haue thought it my part not to omit any one thing, wherein I might seeme to counsaile thee, thinking my selfe much bounde vnto the goodnesse of God, if that the good hope I haue conceaued of thee, might not be frustrated. For though it be the vse of most men to make greater account of those friends which doe most beare with their follies, and holde vp their yea and nay in euery thing, then they doe esteeme and regard them, which will friendly and plainely without dissembling, rebuke them for their misbehauiour and euill dealinges, immitating those men which waighe more the sweete talke, then the wholseome operation and working of the Phisitian drugges, yet doe I see thee to be of a contrarie nature as dayly proueth thy earnest indeuour and paynes taken in most godly exercises and studies, whereby I haue been perswaded, to thinke that thou which arte so well affectioned and disposed of thy selfe, wilt most willingly in thankefull wise, accept and receiue this simple proferre of him which speaketh onely of meere good will gladly

Isocrates concluding, sheweth the intent of his writing.

A faithfull friend is hard to bee founde.

Flattery getteth friendship, but truth purchaseth hatred.

gladly to exhort and incouraged thee to the imbracing of vertue, wherevnto thou shalt easely be induced, if thou doe marke and consider the true ioyes and sundry commodities, which she bringeth with her, as for those fond delightes, that idleneſſe and rietous exceſſe of licentious liuing doe seeme to poſſeſſe, they are so sauced with the bitter dregges of misery and sorrowe, that they doe no more but beare an outward showe of pleasure, but vertue who moderately and orderly, directeth the race of mans life, doth euery day more and more bring foorth and procure most delightfull and most perfectest delections, continuing for euer: Moreouer if in most thinges which wee take in hand, we doe more respect the ende and the conſequentes insuing the same, then we vse to consider the beginning or entraunce, neither doe we refuse any paynes, if we once vnderstand the profites and commodities to be gotten thereby, what reason is there then that mē should not most of all labour and trauell to get vertue, whose entraunce though it be accounted hard, yet is there nothing more pleasaunt nor gainefuller then the ende thereof, whereas contrarily those counterfeite pleasures make vs as it were laughing and sporting to runne headlong into our owne deſtruction, wilfully working our owne ouerthrowe, And though it be supposed tollerable or at leaſtwise made no great account of, if any simple man offende and transgreſſe both in respect of the baseneſſe of his eſtate as also through his ignorauncee and slenderneſſe of witte (for what maruell is it to see a sow tumbling in the myre or an Idiot more esteeming an Apple then a perce of Golde) yet may not those men whose nobleneſſe of birthe and dexteritie of witte is had in admiration, adiudge it lawfull for them once to swarue aside or at all to offende, no not in the leaſt thing, but that it will straight wayes turne to their dishonour and infamie, yea the vſe of men is as much to hate and abhorre that man which showeth himselfe a dissembler in his dealinges, working nothing worthy of his calling, nor agreeable to that hope which

A perfect deſcription of the true and vnfallible ioyes, which vertue procureth, as also of such counterfet delights, as that flattering and deceitfull misteries, Dame pleasure seemeth to proffer vnto vs.

The hope of victory maketh the man of war venterous, the hope of gaine maketh the marchaunt refuse no perrill, the hope of health perſwadeth the sick patient, not to reſpect the vnsauery tastes, or extreame operations of the phisitions medecines, and thus the end of euery thing breedeth patience, and giueth incouragement.

A smal fault in a man of honor is a great blemishe.

An hypocrit and dissembler most to be abhorred.

they had conceiued of him, as they doe detest and despise him which impudently tumbleth and walloweth himselfe in wickednesse and mischiefe, in that he onely hurting himselfe so dealeth that euery man may easily take heede and beware of him, but the other both discrediting himselfe, and infaming his auncestors doth also to the great and heauie displeasure of God, misuse and mispend those giftes bestowed vpon him, as namely his wealth, honour, wisedome and knowledge, shewing himselfe altogether vnworthy of that blessednesse, & happinesse of life, whereunto he is called: finally, if it be lawfull for vs by coniectures to searche and to trie out the heauenly will of the immortall God, we shall finde that he hath required nothing more at our handes then a pure and vertuous lyfe, yeelding a reward to good men as also extreeme and endlesse punishmentes and tormentes, to them that are wicked, hauing no respect of persons, as plainely appeareth by these two brethren Hercules and Tantalus the sonnes of Iupiter, the one for his wonderfull vertues crowned with the crowne of eternall fame and euerlasting memorie the other perpetually tormented with great and grieuous punishment for his abhominable and wicked life. It becommeth vs therefore (hauing these and such like examples, as looking Glasses before our eyes) with an earnest and vnsatiable desire, to coueit and to indeuour to imbrace vertue, and to frame our selues, to a sincerenesse and pureneſſe of life, both for the worthinesse of the thing it selfe, and in respect of the great and sundry commodities gotten thereby, which are these, eternall praise, perpetuall memorie, loue and good will of all men and endlesse felicitie in time to come, as also for the auoyding and eschewing of all those euils, and myseries which are incident vnto vs if neglecting the former, wee chaunce to take our delightes and to spende our time in those vaine and transitorie pleasures, which in the ende procure nothing else but repentaunce dearely bought with continuall shame and infamie.

Marke well gentle Reader, the heauenly Philosophy of this Painim.

An exhortation to Vertue.

And

And thus minding at this time to conclude, resting in hope to see good successe of that which hath bene spoken, I would not wishe thee so to bee adicted vnto this my sreadile and slender discourse, that thou shouldst only satisfie thy selfe herewith, but that thou shouldst also dayly reade ouer & beare away the profitable lessons which are to be gathered out of the writinges of Poets, or any other learned workes, necessary for this purpose, for as the Bee vseth to light vpon euery flower, and thense sucketh that which serueth for her store, so surelye it becommeth them that are desirous to attain vnto learning and knowledge, not to be ignorannt in any thing, but moste painefullye to spende theire youth in perusing and reading ouer the Bookes and writinges of the learned dilligentlye noting and collecting all suche thinges as may seeme necessary and appertaining to the ordring and directing of their liues in Godlye and vertuous exercises: For surely the stubbornesse of this our vile and rebellious nature is such, that we shall hardly or neuer subdue and bring vnder the same as subiect to the lore of reason, except it be restrayned in tyme, with a moste sharpe and straight Bitte.

A good and necessary lesson for Students.

The corruptnes of mans nature.

Here endeth the first Oration of Morall instructions, called Parenisis, being writen by that famous and renowned Oratoure Isocrates, vnto his friend Demonicus.

The Preface of the Translator vnto the second Oration of Morall instructions, written by that famous and learned Orator Isocrates vnto Nicocles the king of Salamis, as touching the duetie of Princes and Magistrates, and the well ordering of a Common Weale.

AS the former Oration contained a generall discourse as touching the instructing of youth, and the ordering of the life of euery priuate person, so doth this now next insuing describe and set forth certaine rules and precepts appertaining to the gouernment of a common weale, written vnto one Nicocles king of Salamis, a part of Cypers, the sonne of Euagoras: who being verie young (and his father dead) was now to take vpon him the rule and gouernment of the kingdome: whereupon Isocrates wrote vnto him this briefe Oration, partly as bound therevnto by the courtesie and friendship shewen vnto him by his father, desiring also a continuance of the same in the sunne) and partly for to manifest to the worlde, (to the reproofe of his aduersaries) that the ende of all his studie was to exhorte and perswade all men to the imbracing of vertue and honestie: and to the auoyding of wickednesse and vice, willing through so iust an occasion giuen by writing to this king, to profite all others which should take vpon them any kinde of gouernment or office in any Common weale, as shall plainely appeare vnto those which will take the paynes to reade it ouer. And although the slenderneſſe of my simple skill, may seeme not so exactly to haue translated the same, as my poore good will could haue wished, yet to the intent that

that neither the worthyneſſe thereof ſhould in ought reſpect be obſcured by me, or remaine as vnknowne vnto you, the bountifull liberalitie extended by this noble Prince towardes the writer, ſhall ſufficiently declare the ſame. It is left vnto memorie by ſundry writers that this king ſente vnto Iſocrates as a rewarde for his good will, and paines taken in writing this ſo neceſſarie a leſſon for him, twentie Tallentes of ſiluer the which ſumme of our money amounteth vnto .xx. hundred poundes reckoning Talentum minus. And where as now beholding the magnificencie and ſinguler liberalitie of this renowned king with the great good will he ſhewed himſelfe to beare towardes thoſe which are ſtudious in the knowledge of good literature I might iuſtly bewaile the want of ſuch men in theſe our dayes, reſpecting not onely the infinite number of liuinges at the firſt allowed for the maintenance of ſtudentes, but nowe remaining in the handes of thoſe whom we may rightly call worldlinges, but alſo that horrible and moſt abhominable ſelling and craftie conueying of ſpirituall benefices, nothing reſpecting nor waighing the conuerſation of the man on whom they beſtowe them, ſo that they may haue eyther preſent money by him or his friends, or the perſonages themſelues in pawne, vntill the income bee payde becauſe I knowe it is but labour loſt, in that it is ſo commonly cried out vpon, by moſt graue and learned preachers euen euery day, and yet not one to be founde whoſe couetous heart relenteth his former wretchedneſſe, I will rather returne to my authour as one with ſilence ſignifying my griefe, then ſharpely in wordes to proſecute that, wherein I ſhall ſeeme ſo litle to preuaile, wherefore my onely requeſt is that all true Chriſtians would not forget euen in their dayly prayers, to beſeeche the Lord our God among a number of other miſchiefes, as eſpecially to redreſſe this ſo horrible an infection, whereby learning the onely mayn-

tayner of a common Weale bee not onely alreadie greatly hindered, but alſo in daunger in time to come to be vtterly neglected: if this yoke be not taken off from the neckes of poore ſtudents by ſome ſuch one as ſhal ſeeme as greatly to fauour the ſame as did this woorthie King.

The second Oration of Morall instructions as touching the dutie of Princes and Magistrates and the well gouerning of a common weale, written by that noble and famous Oratour Isocrates, vnto Nicocles the King of Salamis.

THruelye in my iudgement, renowned Prince, those men (whose vse it is, vppon pretence of good wil, to preſẽt vnto you which are Kings, either costly Garmentes, curiouslye wrought, or any treasure of Golde or Siluer, as Vessell, or Plate, or any such like thing, wherof they themselues haue greatest neede, and you for your partes sufficiente store) doe seeme herein, rather to make a gaynefull Part, then any token or showe of liberallitie, or friendly courtesie, more subteller selling their wares, then those men doe who openly professe the trade thereof, yet notwithstanding, being as one desirous with them to expresse and to signifie my well willing minde towardes thee, and yet coueting as much as may be, to be exempted from their number as in respect of their greedy desire, in hunting after gayne, I haue thought with my selfe that I should be best able to perfourme the same, if I did enterprise in this small Treatise, breefely to describe vnto thee, as touching the gouernment of thy Cittie and kingdome, all such things as I should thinke necessary on thy behalfe, both to be obserued and kept, as also contrarily to be eschewed and auoided, whereby the prosperous estate of thee and thy subiectes might be preserued, this being a Gifte or Presente not onely singuler and profitable, but also moste necessary and meete, as well to be receiued of thee, as also to be offered and giuen by me, in that the worthinesse of this treasure is such, that the more it is bestowed, the more it increaseth, so that neither I shall want by giuing, and yet thou the richer by receiuing. There are diuerse and sundrye thinges, the whiche may instructe and teache a priuate person to bee wise and circumspecte in his

The Author procureth the good will and affection of the king toward him, in respect of the worthines of the gift which he presenteth vnto him, as also in reproouing the vanity of others. If these faining flatterers, with their pretended courtesy, were rewarded with a Rape roote wrapt in a peece of Silk, as was that Courtier, of Fraunces, the frenche king, for that he had presented vnto him vpon hope of gaine, a stately Courser: then would they study by their well doinges to deserue praise, rather then to curry fauour with any such gifftes, as men gaping after gaine.

Of the state of a priuate person.

his dealinges, as namely the miserable estate of his own life, the dayly necessitie and care which hee must needes take for the supplying the want of those thinges whiche are necessary for his mayntinaunce, also the lawes and ordinaunces made by the prudent and grauer sort, (by the which, he and the whole Cittie is directed and gouerned) that hee must as it were perforce keepe the path prescribed vnto him: Againe he inioyeth that libertie through the Priuiledge, whereof his friendes may lawfullye rebuke him and amende him, yea and his enimies reprooue and reuile him, if at any time he offende, and besides this, he hath the perfect fourme of well liuing set downe vnto him in the workes and writinges of learned Poets, and graue Philosophers, so that thus being as it were propped on euery side if he take any heede, or haue any care at all, he must needes prooue a good Citizen. But as for Princes, they are bereft and spoyled of all these helps and commodities, for standing on the slipperest place, they haue least stay, and whereas they ought to bee instructed moste, comming once to their Crowne, they passe their time as liketh themselues best, without controlement: For as it is not lawfull nor requisite for many to haue accesse vnto them, so is it the vse of those that are commonly conuersaunte aboute them both to doe and to saye onelye that whiche they perceaue, and vnderstande to feede their humours best, not so much respecting the safety and preseruation of their Princes, or the commoditie of theire Countrey, as they doe their owne proper gayne. And hereby it hath come to passe that through the wealth and authoritie of these men so wickedly gotten as also so gretly abused, most men stande in doubt whether the life of a priuate person honestlye and orderlye behauing himselfe, is

But such is the licentiousnes of these our dayes, that most men as careles, liue at liberty, fewe showthemselues as faithfull obayers of the lawes, yea not one can abide to be tolde of his fault, and if anye reade ouer the Godly precepts of the learned, yet are they nothing amended thereby, for comming in at the one eare, it goeth out at the other, and therefore no maruele if we say with the Prophet, they are all gone astray, there is not one that doth good.

When as the Romanes vnderstoode that it was vnpossible for their Citty to continue, except they were ruled and directed by lawes, they sent tenne wise men to Athens, to gather out the statutes of good gouernment, as they thought best for them, but these ten men hauing done as they were commanded, at their retourn brought also aboue their charge, the instruments of the law, as namely Whippes, Gibbots, Pillories, Stockes, with other thinges appertayning to the executing of the sayd lawes, signifying, that vice is neuer the more amended, bee the lawes neuer so good, except they be truely executed, and this is the cause why England so aboundeth with wickednes. There is no remembrance sayth Tully, of equitie or Iustice, among those in whom the desire of honour and authoritie is once lodged. The spoyle that insueth by ambitious minds, is manifested by the doinges of Lucius Silla, Caius Cesar, and Caius marius, turning all vpside downe, without the feare of God or man.

is not to be preferred, & rather to be wiſhed for, then that princely maieſtie or high eſtate of gouernmēt. For as in beholding their great honours, exceſſe wealth, & royall authoritie, they adiudge thē as Gods abouding in greateſt felicitie, ſo likewiſe conſidering the great daūgers, & wonderfull troubles which they liue in, calling to mind how moſt of them are murthered and ſlaine, euen by the handes of thoſe in whome they haue put moſt truſt, compelled often times to vſe extreame crueltie towardes their deareſt friendes, theſe thinges with infinite other inconueniences thoroughly waied, they ſuppoſe it better to leade the pooreſt and baſeſt life with quietneſſe and ſafety, then to poſſeſſe the gouernment of all Aſia, in ſuch terrible feares and continuall daungers.

But the erroure of this their opinion ariſeth in that through their ignoraunce they make no difference at all betwixt the gouernment of a kingdome (whiche as it is the greateſt and chiefeſt charge, ſo doeth it require the more care and prouidence) and the priuate authoritie of any other man, ſuppoſing alwayes, the one to be as eaſy as the other being like vnto thoſe, whiche according to the prouerbe are continually talking of Robin hoode when as they neuer ſhotte in his bowe, and thus pretending a certaine ſkill, they raſhly giue their cenſure of iudgement of that wherof in very deede they themſelues are ignoraunt. But now ſetting theſe men aſide, and to retourne to my purpoſe. I ſuppoſe it the duetye of theme that are thy counſailers dayly attending on thy perſon carefully to forecaſt and to foreſhew vnto thee (as occaſion ſerueth) howe and after what ſorte eche perticuler thing is to be ordered and directed, as well for the preſeruing and maintaining of that which is good and godly as alſo for the auoyding and ſubduing of eche vnlawfull and wicked pretence and abuſe. But as concerning thoſe thinges which may be ſpoken of in generall, as appertaining vnto thoſe exercciſes and indeuours by the which thou art to be conducted vnto that happye ende

Antigonus being to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome, and to put on the crown on his head beſet with Diademes and other riche and princely Pearles, ſayd, O Ornament more honorable then happy, for if we did conſider what great care, daunger and trouble thou doeſt bring, we would not once take thee vp from off the ground.

Anaxagoras being aſked whom he ſuppoſed happye, not thoſe, ſaith he, whiche doe abunde in wealth, or are clothed in purple but euen thoſe whome thou ſuppoſeſt miſerable, I account happy what manner of men they are which being content with a moderate liuing, had rather to appeare honourable in their deeds then in their Garmentes.

Ceſar ſlaine in the Senat, Alexander poyſoned, Pompey bought & ſolde, Dionitius killed by his deareſt friend Calicrates, and diuers other miſerably betrayed and murthered.

He excuseth his boldnesse and slendernesse in writing.

wherevnto the whole race of thy life is to be applyed, I shall as much as in me lieth indeuour at this instaunt to declare and describe vntothee.

Wherein if the slendernesse and basenesse of my discourse when it is ended shall not seeme agreeable or correspondente vnto the worthinesse of the matter whiche I haue taken in hande (the whiche at the beginning can not so easilye bee discerned,) and that it should happen to fall out with me, as it hath done with diuers learned Poets, whose workes before they were finished, and as it remained in their owne imaginations did seeme to portend vnto themselues great and strange matters, likely to cause and to purchase vnto the Auctheurs both credite and commendations, and yet at length when as they came to light, as set forth in bokes vnto the view and iudgement of the worlde to bee read and perused by others, they haue then gained lesse praise then they looked for: Yet neuertheless my hope is that how soeuer the case standeth I shall not be misliked, the singulernesse of my enterprise being thorowlye wayed, and considered, which is, euen to doe that, whiche all others haue left vndone, and as it were to take vpon mee to prescribe lawes vnto kinges and Princes, then the which as nothing can be harder, so surely nothing is or may be more profitabler. For they which take paines in the instructing and teaching of a priuate person doe no more but profite him onely, but he who enterpriseth to stirre vp and to incourage the Lords of the people to the following and imbracing of vertue, this man procureth and bringeth sundry commodities, both vnto the Princes themselues, as also to their subiectes, as in purchasing to the one a more surer estate, and causing vnto the other a moste blessed and happy common weale. Nowe therefore first of all before we goe any further, lette vs consider what the duetye of a King is, as also by him what appertaineth vnto all other inferiour Magistrates vnto whome the common weale is or shal be committed:

Hope is often frustrated especially in those thinges as depend vpon the iudgement of many, for commonly, so many men, so many oppinions.

For there neuer yet lacked a Momus or Zoylus, no though their workes were neuer so perfect.

Though Phillip King of Macedon tooke in good part the counsaile of that poore captiue, that secretly told him how that his Cloke did sit vncomely: yet did Cambises of Persia put to death the sonne of Prexaspis, because he wilde him to anoyd his beastly dronkennesse, so daungerous a thing it is to correct the abuses of princes

For

For the chiefe and principall parte that wherein the whole effect of our matter consisteth being thoroughlye knowne and perfectly described, wee shall by the viewe thereof, the ealier iudge of all other thinges incidente vnto the same. Truely I suppose that the iudgement of all men generally is that it belongeth and appertayneth vnto all princes and gouernours carefully to defend and preserue their kingdomes and Cities from all kinde of trouble, misery, and calamitie, to maintaine the prosperous estate thereof, as also to inlarge and to increase the liberties and dominions of the same, making them of little and small countreyes, to become greate and mightye nations, and as for all other thinges which doe daylye happen, they are all to be referred and applyed vnto this end: And this is also as manifest and as it were already graunted as a thing not requiring further proofe, that it doth not become them in whome this authoritie doeth consist, and whose charge it shall be to deliberate of these matters, to giue themselues to slothfulnesse or idlenesse, but with all dilligence most circumspectly to foresee and forecast eche thing, and so to spende their time that they may be found farre wiser in all their dealinges then any other man, for as experience showeth, their realmes are in such sort gouerned and guided, as they themselues are disposed and inclined: Wherefore it is not so necessarye for any champion with such great care to exercise his body to the Combate, as it is requisite for Princes and Rulers to sharpen their wittes, and to quicken their vnderstandinges, seeing that the greatest price wonne and gotten in the greatest game, is nothing compareable to the least parte of those rewardes, for which you that are kinges doe dayly and continually contend.

The author thus hauingended his Preface or Proheme now commeth to the matter intended, and sheweth firste what is the charge and dutie of those whiche are Kings or gouernours.

The vse and order of Alexander was to lie with one of his armes out of the bedde, holding a brasen Ball in his hand that by the fall thereof, he might be awaked to consult of those things which he had to doe and that he might not be as one ouercome with sleepe

The Athenians punished idlenes as greeuously as any other offence

Julius Cesar hauing bene all day in the fild, or elsse any otherwise buisyed, did continually deuide the night into three partes, spending the first in sleepe: the second in consulting of his affayres: the third and last in Musick, for the refreshing and recreating of his wearied mind. It was not the Consulship neither anye other office or authoritie whiche Scipio Africanus possessed among the Romaines, that caused king Antiochus so to reuerence his person, or the Pirates so to be astonyed at his sight, but onely the excelency of his vertues, and the immortall praise which he purchased through the integritie of life.

These thinges therefore thus considered, it behoueth

thee to doe thy indeuour ſo farre to excell all others in vertue and well doing, as thou doeſt ſurpaſſe and exceede them in honour and authoritie. Neither would I wiſhe thee to thinke that where as care and dilligence are of ſufficient force to bring the difficultſt matters aboute, that they ſhould not be likewiſe auailcable to the obtayning of vertue and wiſedome, or as of none importaunce to better our ſelues, neither doe thou go about to condemne vs men of ſuch great folly that we ſhoulde bee able to inuent meanes and wayes to alter the courſe of nature, in the brute beaſt in making him tame and tractable, teaching him diuers and ſundry qualities, bringing him as moſt obedient to our willes, and yet ſhould not in like ſort be able to frame and to applie our ſelues to the obtaining and winning of her, which of her owne nature ſo louingly alureth and intiſeth vs vnto her: nay rather perſwade thy ſelfe that thyough Godly inſtructions and dilligent indeuour vſed in the following and practiſing of the ſame (I meane vertue) the minde of man is eaſyer to be ſalued and cured, then the leaſt ſcar or greeuous woumde. Placing therefore about thee the wiſeſt and diſcreeteſt men of thy countrey, take thy delight in their companye, vſing them familliarlye and friendly, that ſo they being imboldened by thy clemencie maye not ſtand in doubt or in feare at any time, to vtter or to diſcloſe their opinions vnto thee, in anye thing which they ſhall ſee amiſſe, yea though it be not demanded.

Send alſo into other nations for thoſe of whome thou ſhalt heare any commendable report giuen for their ſinguler vertues, and dexteritie of witte, or at leaſt wiſe if they be not to be gotten, indeuour to cauſe the like admiration to ariſe from thy ſelf, by immitating that in them for which thou vnderſtandeſt them to bee ſo highlye renowned

Seripius obiecting againſte Themiſtocles that his countrey made him honorable not his owne deſertes. Themiſtocles aunſwered, that though he were Seriphius, yet ſhould he be honourable, but if Ferutheus himſelfe were an Athenian yet would he be neuer the worthier.

Aiax Locrenſis tamed a ſerpent, Pithagoras a Beare, Horus an Elephant, Auguſtus the Emperour a Tiger, and Paulus Leonenſis a Dragon.

This made king Darius to wiſhe for as manye Megabizes mates as there were Curnels in a Hoongarnet, this cauſed Xerxes to vſe his friend and counſailer Boges ſo familierly, this forced Alexander ſo to lament the death of Epheſtion, for they all knew that there was nothing compareable to a faithfull and truſty counſeller.

Marcus Aurelius dying willed his ſonne Commodus to be ruled by the aduiſe of his graue counſaylers, and to place about him the wiſeſt of his people. To this ende did Romulus at the firſt appoint that noble company of graue counſailers, called Senatoures, to be Aduiſors vnto him in his affaires. This was alſo the intent of Solon in inſtituting his Ariopagite that thereby the Princes and Rulers of Athens, might not want diſcrete and wiſe Sages, ſuch as would be carefull for the profite of their countrey.

nowned: Moreouer, let no learned Poet or famous Retrision eſcape thee, but if they be liuing ſend for them, or elſe being dead, diligently peruſe and reade ouer their workes being alwayes willing to heare, and carefull to learne, ſhewing thy ſelfe a ſkilfull and prudent iudge ouer thy inferiours as alſo an earneſt louer & follower of thy betters, being ſuch as excell thee in wiſedome & knowledge, ſo ſhalt thou eaſely and quickly become ſuch a one, as we would wiſhe him to be which ſhoulde take vpon him rightly to gouerne a Realme or orderly to direct the ſtate of a Citie. And hereunto thou ſhalt be the earneſter incenſed, if thou account it as a thing moſt vnſeeming to ſee the inferiour to rule his ſuperiour, the fooliſhe and witleſſe to become gouernours ouer the wiſe, or the ſeruaunt commaunding, and the maiſter obeying, for howe much the more thou abhorreſt and miſlikeſt other mens madneſſe and folly, the carefuller thou wilt be to apply thy ſelfe to the obtayning of learning and knowledge. And in this ſorte muſt they which ſeeke the perfection of duetie indeuour as eſpecially to adorne and to beautifie their mindes with vertue and wiſedome learning firſt howe to gouerne themſelues before they take in hand to rule others.

Moreouer Princes and Magiſtrates ought to haue a loue and a ſeaſe to their people and to their Countrey, for it can not bee that any man can vſe any thing well, whether it be horſe, hounde, or men, except he take delight in the thing whereof he hath charge. Take heede then that thou haue a care ouer thy people, ſuppoſing thy ſelfe then to be ſureſt when as they are well pleaſed and contented with thy gouernment: yea eche ſtate of gouernment, whether it be in the ordering of a fewe of many or of one, it then continueth longeſt and proſpereth beſt when as the greateſt care and regard is had of their

Ptolomeus king of Alexandria did ſend abroade for all ſuch learnedmen of whome he hearde anye famous reporte, and gaue them great ſtipendes. the like alſo did Julius Ceaſar, & Waſpaſianus Emperours. king Ferdinandus as Textor reporteth, did yearely beſtowe great ſummes of money out of his treaſure, towarde the maintenance of Retorions, Phiſitions, Philoſophers, & Deuines. I can not lette paſſe the earneſt ſute made by Artaxerxes king of Perſia vnto Hiſcanus, the gouernour of Heleſpontus for the inioying of the companye of Hipocrates that famous and renowned Phiſition, the iorney of Alexander to ſee Diogenes, the ſending of Dionyſius for Plato, nor the reuerence which the Athenians gaue vnto Zeno ſeing their doings doe ſo manifeſtly condemn the carieleſe contempt of the learned in theſe

dayes. They ſaith Solon which willingly gouern others, muſt firſt learn to rule themſelues.

Codrus king of Athens vnderſtanding that if he were ſlaine in the Battell his company ſhould not haue the victory, clothed himſelfe in poore aray, and intruded himſelf among his enemies, ended his life for the loue he did beare to his countrey, there are alſo infinite Hiſtories both of Princes and priuate perſons which haue done the like.

The safety of a Prince consisteth in the good will of their people.

people: for there hath neuer byn, as yet any King so mightie or so strong but at the laste he hath byn ouerthrowne through the enuie and euill will of his subiects so that perfect honour is both gotten, and maintained by these three thinges. The loue and goodwill of the people wonne through gentlenesse and lowlinesse, with beneficencie and liberality annexed by credit gotten by iust and vpright dealing. And through an admiration had at thy vertues as when thou shewest thy selfe in the integritie and purenesse of life to surpasse others, especially not being giuen to licentious and vnordinate lust, neither as one able to be moued with the desire of money, for as the suspicion of couetousnesse is to be eschewed of all men, so is the least part thereof most abhominable in any prince or magistrate being the onely subuertion and ouerthrowe of a common weale.

Talantia a worthy Lady of Sparta vnderstanding that her sonne Pedaretus did not vse himselfe well in the gouerning of the people of Chius, an yle in Greece, she sente him word in that he had lost the good will of his people, except by his behauiour and good gouernment he did winne it againe, he should tarrye there, and as shee hoped, receaue condigne punishment at their handes, for if he did come home vnto her, he should not think to liue one howre.

Thou also shalt be accounted to rule well if thou neither fauour the folly or wantonnesse of thy people, neyther suffer any other to vse any Loftie or Lordly Authoritie ouer them, whereby they should be iniured in anye respect, but so ordering and foreseing eche thing, that due honour may be giuen vnto the godly and well disposed, executing iustice in such sort vppon the trangressors, and breakers of thy lawes that the rest quietly inioying their owne may be the louinger and obedienter to thee, as also not sustaining wrong or iniurie by any, more esteeming an honest man be he neuer so poore, then thou doest the vicious liuer, yea though he abounde in greatest wealth, for this is the first and chiefest point of a well ordered publike Weale.

The notes of a well ordred common Weale.

Herodotus writeth Miceranus King of Egipt to haue bene so carefull in the executing of iustice, that if anye man had bene iniured, that the offender shoulde be punished according to his trespasse, and the partie iniured by him fully satisfyed, or else he himselfe, the offender not being able, would recompence the plaintife out of his owne Cofer. Because that one of Tamburlanus Souldyers had taken from a poore woman but a messe of Milke, the King caused him to be put to death, his bowels to be ript, and the Milke to bee taken out.

Abrogate and alter all suche decrees and statutes, which

In auncient time neither the Romaines, neither the Lacedemonians had any lawes as prescribed in writing, but only as the offences were committed, and the offendoures knowne, the punishmentes were referred to the iudgement of the iudges. The Lawes which Draco had made among the Athenians were altered and chaunged by Solon.

which thou shalt vnderstand to be either not necessarie or in any clause amisse or culpable, and this being done doe thy indeuour to inuent and constitute some other in their places and if it be that of thy selfe thou canst not doe it, then doe thou aske the aduise of others, taking a patterne of all such ordinaunces which thou shalte see or learne to bee obserued in any other Countries, being good and godly. Let thy lawes also be indifferent and alike profitable vnto all persons, no more respecting one then another, moreouer take heede that they be not contrarie or repugnant one to the other, but agreeable in euery part making no dissention nor controuersies to arise among thy people, but in all thinges procuring vnitie and peace, to the maintaining of Iustice and equitie, and to the ouerthrowing of vice and wickednesse, all whiche thinges are necessary to be obserued, if thou desire to make perfect and substanciall lawes.

Ordaine such kinde of marchandice and traffiques to be vsed among thy people, as may be gainefull and profitable for them, and if they fall at variaunce and strife among themselues, let them smart for the same, that so hauing sustayned dammage by the one they may learne the more diligenter to apply themselues to the other: but yet in such sort as men content with an honest and indifferent gaine and not either seeking excesse, or studying to increase their wealth by any vnlawfull or deceitefull meanes.

Also when thou shalt come to giue iudgement vpon any controuersie, depending betwixte partie and partie speake nothing vpon affection or fauour, neither for hatred or enuie but vprightly and indifferently as ẏ trueth shall

The lawes which the Decemviri fyrste brought to rome from Athens growing to bee corupted through the abuse of time were afterwards altered in some pointes, the like also did Zeleucus in Sparta. A good law must haue all these properties. As it is before specifyed, the romains at twelue yeares of age appointed their youth to such artes and trades of liuing, as they were found mete for, and afterwarde, if they were euer taken in the streates idlely loytering they were depriued of their freedome, and vsed as bondmen. The Athenians so farre detested Idlenesse, that to the intent their Citizens shoulde applye themselues to honest marchandise, and other trades of liuing, they ordayned that euery man shoulde giue an account how and by what Science hee maintained himselfe vnto their Iudges called Areopagitae. In Lucania there was a Lawe that who soeuer did lende anye thing vnto an idle person, shoulde loose the thing which he had lente, that men beeing tought heareby to trust to themselues, mighte learne to laboure and to take paynes for their liuing, and not to liue by shifting, as manye now doe.

Euthimus that Valiaunt Captayne vnderstanding that a Citizen of his, called Themesius, had gathered togither excesse wealth by vniust meanes, and vntollerable Vsurie, caused him to make restitution of all that euer hee had gotten vnto those whome he hadde iniured.

shall leade thee, neither let thy opinions be founde variable or vncertaine, but accoyding to equitie, be alwayes of one minde in all semblable causes, and that without any discoydance and not as a man to be led away hether and thether, or to be perswaded to this or that, for it is expedient and necessarye that the wooydes of a Prince should remaine immutable and vnchaungeable, alwayes to be taken of all men as an approued lawe and vnmoueable decree.

So order thy Citie as thou wouldest vse thy fathers house adorning and beautifying the same, with most sumptuous and costly furnitures, making it famous and renowned through the excellencie and worthinesse of thy Princely maiestie, thinking thy selfe then most inriched when as thou seest their most florishing, not forgetting to take a diligent and carefull accounte of thy reuenewes that both the worthinesse of thy name may bee spread abrode, through iust desert by the well bestowing of the same, as also to preuent any other occasion which hereafter may happen though nowe vnknowen, remembring so to spend that thou maist haue alwayes some store before hand, both for the better maintaining of thy owne estate as also for the supplying of euery necessitie: otherwise thy Citizens and subiectes shalbe peeled and powled, thy name through others euill dealings defamed, and yet thy treasure neuer the more inriched, for it is commonly intercepted by such as stand at receite, and it fareth well with the Prince, if of the pounde he receyue a shilling the poore subiect exacted to the vttermost and paying not one farthing the lesse.

Adiudge not that to bee magnificencie or liberalitie, when

When Kyng Philip of Macedon being as it is written sleepy or drowsy, taking no great heede to the cause of Machetas then pleaded before him had rashly giuen iudgemente against machetas, and afterward vnderstoode he had iudged wrongfully, because his sentence shoulde bee irrenocable, and yet the party not iniured, he himselfe satisfyed the law, and payde the money for which Machetas was condemned.

The Romaynes builded a Temple called Templum Concordie through the which the Senatours should passe, as they came into the Senate house, to the ende that there they should as it were put off both malice and affection, and so to come straight to sit in iudgement as men being in vnitie and loue with all the world, to execute iustice indifferently.

Achens king of Lidia riotously spending his treasure, was therby compelled to exact a new kinde of tribute of his Subiectes, the which the people not tollerating, vsed violence vpon him, and hanging him vp by the heeles, with his head downeward, caused him miserably to end his life. Counst rather with Paulus Emilius to lay vp so much Treasure in thy Capitole house as may discharge and exonorate thy subiectes from all exactions as also to haue sufficient to withstand the inuasion of thy enimies then to spend so lauishly: then thou shouldest be constrained to confiscate the goods of thy people. Antonius Pius made his treasure as common to his friendes: Lucius Lucullus was also so liberall in maintaining all such learned men which came as straungers to Rome that his house was termed the Hospitall for Trauellers.

when as great charges are consumed in vaine and transitorie pleasures, delighting onely thy eye, and that but for a time, but rather suppose true magnificence to consist in the doing of those thinges which I before haue named, as in prouiding and preparing of thinges necessarie for the defence of thy Countrey, as well in the present estate of peace, as in the time of warre, extending thy beneficence, and liberalitie vpon thy friendes, vpon good men being in myserie, in redeeming of Captiues, and in sustaining the causes of the fatherlesse and wydowes wrongfully oppressed. For that which thou shalt bestow in this sort, shalbe permanent and sure, continuing for euer, to the eternall praise of thy name, & bringing greater commodities vnto thy posteritie, than those superfluous, and friuolous expences.

In satisfying the licentiousnesse of the flesh, as did Demetrius, who bestowed on his Harlots CC.I. talents of siluer. In excessiue eating and riottous banqueting, as did Heliogabalus, Vitellius, and Cleopatra in the supper she prepared for Antonius. Or in setting foorth of fond shewes and Playes, as did Nero, Caligula, and Marcus Tigellius. Or last of al in the building of superfluous monuments. The charges bestowed many of these, is not to be counted liberalitie.

Diligently obserue that religion which thou hast receiued of thy forefathers, accounting that to bee a most worthy, acceptable, and commendable sacrifice, and as a seruice most pleaseable and thankefull before the face of God, when as thou shewest thy selfe a iust and vpright dealer, for there is greater hope, that the immortall God will sooner and willinger heare, and graunt the petition of such men, than he doth esteeme or regarde ỳ requestes of those, whose vse it is with defyled & corrupted consciences to offer vp the fattest Bullockes or greatest offeringes, for it is not the outward ceremonie, but the inward disposition of the heart that God respecteth.

When as the Senat had denied to pay the ransome for the redeeming of those Captiues which Quintus Fabius Maximus had

Yeelde vnto thy dearest and trustiest friends, the chiefest and principallest honours, and place thy well willers in those roomes which thou most desirest to be vncorrupted. And as for the custodie of thy bodie, thinke it then most safest, when as it remaineth as garded with ỳ faithfulnesse

brought home from Hannibal, promising to see their ransome discharged, he refused not to sell a certaine peece of his Lands, and so to discharge the paiment him selfe, rather than the poore men shall remaine in Captiuitie. Alexander hauing subdued Porus King of India, being both sicke and impotent, did not onely cause him to bee cured of his disease, but also taking him as one of his dearest friendes, gaue him greater possessions than he before had inioyed.

Alexander Severus the Emperor, thought them as worthiest of the chiefest preferments whome he heard moste renowned for their integritie of life.

fulnesse of friendes, as defenced with the goodwill of thy Citizens, and as established by thy owne wisedome and prudence, for these are they by whom honour and authoritie are soone wonne and obtained, as also easily and longest preserued.

Plato was wont to say, that euerye country should be the moste happiest, when as onely wyse men were preferred to beare authoritye, and the kinges themselues did also become studious to gette wisedome and knowledge.

Haue also good awayte and diligent care, as touching the priuate estate of euery Citizen particularly, and perswade thy self that both he that wasteth, spendeth of that which is thine, and the man that is thriftie & vsing good husbandrie, is also an increaser and augmenter of thy wealth and substaunce, for the liues and landes, and the whole goodes of all them that be subiectes, inhabiting within the dominions, appertaine vnto the maintenaunce of all such Princes as are their rulers, if so bee that their gouernment be iust and righteous: neither is there any faithfull Citizen which will seeme to denie the same when it shall be demaunded, or rather not voluntarily to offer it, when neede so requireth.

Haue alwayes such reuerence of the truth in thy mouth euen through thy whole life, that thy word may sooner be credited and taken of all men, than the oth of him which sweareth deepest.

It is the part of a good Citizen, saith Cicero, to haue a care for the commodity of all men generally, and not to seeke to pleasure a few, or to get the good will of men in authority only. And therefore the Romanes appointed certain officers called Censors to loke vnto the behauiours and doings of their people, that no man should liue either idely or dishonestly. Pomponius Atticus did neuer speake an vntruth, neither could suffer a lye to be told in his presence, the like is reported of Amonius. As the Massilenses did graunt free entraunce to all straungers into their Citie, so had they as great a care to see them peaceably and quietly dealt withall, and that this might be the better performed, they would suffer not one in their Citie to weare any weapon, neither any straunger to enter with any, but that he should leaue it with the porter of the Citie gate, and so to receiue it agayne at his returne.

Let thy Citie be free vnto all straungers, see also that they be honestly and well dealt withall, and that none of thy people goe about to cosen or to deceiue them in any of their contractes or bergaines, but that iustice be indifferently ministred vnto all men: And amongest all the rest esteeme them most which trusting to their owne innocencie, and to thy goodnesse, come boldly to craue some courtesie and friendship at thy hands, bringing thee nothing: than

than thou doest those whiche thinke with themselues to gaine and to deserue a good turne at thy handes, by bestowing vppon thee some present or other: for by this thy honour done vnto ỹ former, in respect of their worthinesse, and by condemning of ỹ vauntye and folly of the latter in contemning their gifts, thou shalt winne the greater praise and commendation amongst all others.

Take also away from thy Citizens all kinde of tyrannicall feare, neither seeme thou terrible vnto them which haue not offended, for loke after what sorte thou wouldest haue them affectioned towards thee, thou must vse thy self in like order towards them. Thou must do nothing in thy fury, but rather dessemble thy anger, as time and occasion serueth, but yet see that thou be eager and earnest in the trying and serching out of the truth in euery thing that shall happen to be done, shewing mercie in mitigating the extremitie of the punishmentes due to the offenders, maintaining ỹ authoritie of thy kingdome, not by sharpenesse and seuerenesse of torments, but by good aduise and prudent foresight had and vsed in euery matter, that all men may bee perswaded thereby, that thou hast greater care, and more tendrest their safetie, than they themselues.

It is likewise necessarie for thee to be accounted and knowne to bee a valiaunt and hardie man at armes, as well in respect of thy knowledge in warlike affaires, as also in thy carefull prouiding of all kinde of furniture seruing thereunto, delighting more in a small company of skilfull and tryed souldiours, than in a huge number and multitude of cowardes: the which to preuent, thou

As the Emperour Galienus through the great lowlines and humilitie which he was indued withal, did neuer deny any thing that was requested of him, so contrarily he could not abide to see any of his subiects to present him with anye gift, especially when as they came to craue any courtesy at his hands.

If mercy and clemency vsed by Camillus, procured the subiectiō of his enimies, winning vnto him more countries than euer he subdued by force of armes, what may wee thinke it is able to do in getting the good wil of subiects towards their princes?

Dion being asked what was the hurtfullest

beast liuing: Answered of all cruell beastes a tyraunt, & among all gentle beastes a flatterer. King Pirrhus vnderstanding that certaine of his subiectes had spoken certaine opprobrious speeches of him, caused the offenders to be brought before him, & when he had vnderstoode the truth, & rebuked the men for their follie, he mercifully pardoned their offence. Alexander the great did not win so much loue among his Souldiers, in tending the health of that old Souldier, whom he so curteously placed in his owne Chayre by the fyre syde, because he was colde, as he did procure their harts against him, when cruelly he put to death his worthie Captayne Calisthenes, Clitus, and Lysimachus. Whereas the people of Room-

must dayly practise and traine vp the youth of thy realme in such kinde of exercises: but yet so dealing therein as one that desireth peace rather than warres, going about to challenge nothing but that which is thy owne, & doth of right appertaine vnto thee, remembring to shewe thy selfe such a one towardes those Cities which are too weake to resist thee, as thou wouldst be cõtent to be dealt withall by them which should be too mightie & too strong for thee. Neither goe thou to warre for euery trifle, but only for that, ỳ victorie whereof being gotten, shalbe sufficient to satisfie thy charges, as also to recompence thy paynes, not blaming them which are vanquished to their owne commoditie, but rather accounting them as fooles, which doe vanquish others to their owne detriment, shewing thy selfe also mercifull vnto all those which humbly shall yeelde themselues to thy mercy, and dealing with extremitie with those which desperately shalbe bent to abyde the vttermost blowe.

made an insurrection against Antonius Pius through the penury of corne which they thẽ sustayned, Antonius did not cruelly reuenge their trespasse, but shewing them friendly their fault sought to appease them, in vttering the care which hee had ouer them.

The worthy & renowned fame of the greate magnanimitie which was in the Romane Captaines, did not so muche amase and terrifye their enimies, as did the cowardlye report made of Sardanapalus, and Helioga-balus giue cause to their aduersaries to inuade and subdue them: for as sayd Arbites, one of Sardanapalus Captaines, what greater shame can there be, than men to be ruled by such effeminate persons? Antigonus vnderstanding that his sonne was slayn through a rash conflict made with the enimies, Answered that he died not to soone that would so rashlye vndertake more than hee coulde bring to passe. Alexander Severus the Emperour, being reproued by his Mother, for that he had not lefte his Empyre so famous and renowned through Conquestes gotten by his princelyactes ouer other nations, as his Father had done before, Answered that he had done more than his Father hadde done, for he had lefte it in more safety and quietnesse, through which it should longer continue.

Account not magnanimitie or valiauntnesse of minde to be in them, which wilfully and rashely doe vndertake greater thinges than they are able to bring to passe, but rather adiudge it in them, which enterprising that onely which is within their reache, doe speedilye bring their purposed intentes to good effect.

Be thou not too too earnest a follower of those men, whose delight is onely to get authoritie, and to inlarge ỳ boundes of their kingdomes, nothing waying or regarding howe or after what sort they obtaine it, so that their greedie desire bee satisfied: but doe thou rather imitate them which seeke well and quietly to preserue and keepe that

that which they haue alreadie gotten, ruling thy people not with crueltie or feare, but shewing thy selfe such a one as becommeth thee to be: diligently dispatching thinges present, as also wisely & circumspectly vndertaking of thinges indifferent, being neither too great for thee to compasse, neither too base for one of thy degree to medle or to deale with all, so shalt thou liue a most happie life, abounding in great felicitie, and as one wanting nothing.

Philip of Macedon falling by chaunce flat vpon the grounde, and rising againe, beholding the length of his body in the dust, saide, how strange a thing is it to see, that nature hath allotted so smal a peece of ground vnto euery one & yet the whole world will not suffice many.

Knit the knot of friendship not with euery one that seemeth to seeke it at thy hands, but onely with those, whom thou vnderstandest and knowest through the excellencie of their vertues, to bee men worthy of thy fauour: for they must be as helpers, furtherers, and counsellers to the wel gouerning of thy Citie, and not as companions merily to passe the time with all: wherefore see that thou doe trie and throughly consider the natures, and conuersations of those with whom thou shalt vse this familiaritie & friendship, for thou shalt be adiudged of all men, to be in like sort disposed and bent, as are the conditions and liues of those with whom thou vsest dayly to be conuersant: be not therfore rashe in companying with any, neither let it bee done at any time, without great cause, and take thou heede that thou commit the charge of those matters, wherewith thou wilt not meddle thy self, vnto such men, as will truely and iustly execute the same, for wherein so euer they offend, it shalbe ascribed vnto thee whose authoritie they beare.

I marueil saith Antisthenes that men are so circumspect in the buying of any worldly things and yet are so carelesse in the chusing of a faithful friend.

Take not them for thy faithfull and loyall seruauntes, which doe most commend and praise thy doinges or speaches, but rather thinke well of them which in ductifull wise, and after a discrete order, will as occasion serueth se-

Pisistratus a tyraunt of Athens did finde the faythfulnes of frends to be such a stay to a kingdome, that when he was forsaken by his frendes, they flying for feare of him, and he

had vnderstoode where they did remayne, he tooke vp a fardell of suche thinges as were needfull for him, and carrying it on his back, came vnto them, and proffered rather to die with them, than to raigne as a King, they being gone. Marius Maximus supposed it better for a common weale to haue an euill Prince with good councellours about him, than to haue a good King with euill counsellours for as it is easye and likely that many good may make one bad good, also like vnto themselues, than for a good man to continue in his goodnesse, keeping the company of euill men. When as Dionites had more sharpely reproued Demaratus the King, than did well become him, in so much that Demaratus seruauntes stan-

bing by and misliking the same, seemed to moue the king vnto, asking him whether he would take in so good part Orontes speeches, the king answered: that he had more cause to thank Orontes, than to reproue him for they rather (sayde hee) doe vs hurt, which flatteringly speake to curry fauor with vs that are Princes, thā they which friendly seeme to rebuke vs. Telecrus brother complayning vnto him that he had not the good wil of the Citizens as much as he had: it is (sayd he) because thou dost not vse thy selfe curteously towards them: & therfore Philip aboue all thinges, willed his sonne Alexander to vse himselfe lowly and friendly towardes his people, but yet so, that there be alwayes a regard had that a mediocrities be obserued in euery thing. Traian being reproued for his humilitie and lowlinesse vsed toward his subiectes, answered: it becommeth me so to vse my selfe towards them, as I being in their case would looke to be delt withal.

cretely reproue and reprehende thy abuses and vanities. And to the ende that such as beare this true loue and affection towardes thee, may not bee affraide to vtter the same vnto thee, thou must graunt free libertie vnto such faithfull friendes and graue Counsellers to speake their mindes boldly and freely, so shalt thou come to the knowledge of thy selfe: and if thou chaunce to doubt in any matter, they presently will be readie to yeelde their helping handes to the dispatching thereof, presently trying out the certaintie in euerie thing.

And aboue all things be most carefull to shew thy selfe able to discerne, and to know those which artificially and craftily shall seeme to fawne and flatter thee, from them whiche with a true harte, and zelous affection reuerence and obey thee: least that being fedde and seduced by their glosing and dissembling, thou shouldst rashly aduaunce the wicked and euill man to greater honour, than thou dost the godly and well disposed: or else to suffer the lewd person to receiue more profite by thee, than they that bee honest and vertuous.

If any one doe come to informe thee as touching the behauiour and dealinges of another that is absent, speaking euill of him, geue no hastie credite vnto his wordes, but staying thy iudgement, doe thy indeuour to learne & to vnderstand, not onely the disposition and conuersation of him that hath told thee the tale, but also the behauiour and dealinges of that man, of whom the complaint was made, and so the truth being tryed and sifted out, the partie

Antisthenes opinion was, that it were better to be in companie with Crowes, then with Flatterers, for Crowes will but deuour the body when it is dead, but the other will eate vp a man aliue. We must (sayd Diogenes) not only giue our handes in friendly wise to our friendes, but also we must remember to haue oure fingers closed and clinched: that is, not onely to giue them fayre wordes, but also to deale friendly and liberally by them. Thearidas being a whetting his sworde with a whetstone, was asked by one that passed by, whether it were sharp, wher-

tie being falsely accused, let the slaunderer receiue as sharpe punishment as the offenders should haue sustained being founde guiltie in such a case: for there can bee no greater offence than to seeke to condemne the innocent.

Thou must also haue no lesse care to the gouernment of thy selfe, than thou takest in the well ruling of others: suppose it therefore as the chiefest and worthiest thing appertaining or incident vnto thee, to be able to subdue and to conquer all vnlawfull appetites and licentious lustes, shewing thy selfe to haue greater stay, and more rule ouer all the affections and motions of thy minde, than thou hast ouer thy Citizens.

Admit no recreation without good aduisement, & that in ỹ company of those, through whose presence thou maist proue the wiser, as also be thought the better of by others for their sake.

Desire not to be singular in any of those thinges which are as common to the wicked also, but let vertue bee thy chiefest delight, for in her the euill man hath no part, and as for that honour and reuerence which is done vnto thy person, either for feare or otherwise in respect of thy authoritie, esteeme it not, neither account it as true honour, but let them rather haue cause to wonder at thy great wisedome and prudence, than at thy good fortune, for herein consisteth true nobilitie.

Also if it should happen that thou shouldest be delighted in any vaine or vnseemely thing, let it not be apparent but secretely dissemble the same, shewing alwayes an out-

to be made answere, that it was as sharpe as a slaunder or false accusation, for as witnesseth Cleantes, there is nothing more hurtfull. If saith Solon, false accusers should scape vnpunished, then would the state of the common weale be soone subuerted. Alphonsus king of Aragō, would say, that there was nothing so vnseeming, than for him to rule others, whiche is subiect to his owne affections. Agesilaus reioyced most, in that ruling others he also remayned a King ouer himself. Herevpon Tullie willeth that when

youth are permitted to take their recreation, the graue and elder sort shoulde be present. The auncient Romanes knowing that Vertue was the only meanes to attaine to true honour, as also to signifie the same to the worlde by an expresse testimonie, they builded the Temples of Vertue and Honour adioyned the one to the other, and that in such sort, that you could not enter into the Tẽple of Honour, except you first came through the Temple of Vertue. As wee doe not sayth Socrates, iudge the Corne to be good because it did grow vpon a fruitefull ground, so neyther are we to suppose them as worthy of honour, whiche were borne of honourable Parentes: because both the Corne growing on the good ground may proue euil, & the child also that issueth frō an honest father, may proue wicked and dissolute, and therefore they are only worthy of honour, whose Vertues are such that they deserue the same. It is a wise mans part, saith Hu-

natius so to behaue himselfe, that though he offende, his fault may not appeare to euerye one, also vnderstanding his error, presently to amend it, and to learne to be wiser afterward. When as a certaine man had sayde to king Antigonus, that all thinges were lawfull for Princes, it is so sayth he, to those that are of a barbarous nation, but vnto vs onlye, thinges honest are lawfull. As in a hearde of beastes, if the formoste stand still, or if he run forward the rest will do the like, so saith Plutarche, it goeth with the people, who in euery thing conforme themselues to the manners of their gouernours. The Effenians a certayne people inhabiting in India, doe gouerne their countrey by these three rules: with a feruent loue towardes God, in hauing an earnest desyre to liue vertuously, and in bearing a charitable affection and loue one towards another. Error. Antigonus King of Macedon being perswaded by his frendes strongly to fortifye the Citie of Athens, if he did meane to keepe it, least it should reuolt away from him againe, answered, that he was alwayes of this opinyon, that there was no such sure defence for the preseruation of his kingdom, than was the good will of his subiectes. When Demetrius Phalerius vnderstood that the Athenians had plucked downe the pictures which they had set vp in remembrance of his worthy enterprises, made answere that though the pictures were throwen down, yet could not his vertues be defaced, which first deserued the same.

outward desire of the best, & amende thy folly with speede, for thinke it not lawfull for Princes and gouernours to liue at libertie, whereas all others are bounde to spende their times honestly and orderly: nay rather let thy temperaunce and modestie of life be such, that it may bee a good example to others, seeing as thou knowest the nature of the people is to conforme and to fashion themselues like in all poyntes to the conditions and dispositions of their Magistrates and Rulers.

Account the principall token and perfect proofe of good gouernment, to be, to see thy people inriched, as also godly and well instructed, obeying thy lawes, and liuing in vnitie and concorde together.

It shalbe better to ioyne vnto thy children eternall praise purchased by thy well doing, whereby thou hast wonne the hartes and good will of thy people, than the abundaunce of wealth or store of treasure, or great possessions: for the one is vncertaine and soone decayeth, and is the cause of much mischiefe: the other certaine, and sure continuing for euer, and is not to be taken from them by the falsehood or treason of any. Also riches are soone recouered againe by him that is beloued, and hath a commendable report and honest fame, for all men pitying his want, will be ready to pleasure him, but a good name is not to be bought with any money.

Moreouer to abound in wealth, is the onely desire of wicked men, and they are commonly the richest, because vnto their nette no fishe commeth amisse, but true honour a good

a good estimation and perpetuall renowne is onely inci-
dent and proper vnto them which haue excelled in the in-
tegritie and pureneſſe of life.

As the sumptu-
ous furniture
doth not make
the horſe the
better, ſo neither
doe riches make
a man the wor-
thier, but it is
the good report
of his honeſt con-
uerſation. Se-
neca.

It shalbe lawfull for thee to adorne and to set forth thy
perſon, with moſt comely and coſtly ornamentes meete
and agreeable for thy princely eſtate, but yet in ſuch ſort
that thou bee not effeminated thereby, but alwayes re-
mayning as one both willing and able to abyde and ſuſ-
taine any labour or trauell in anye matter, wherein it
ſhalbe requiſite for princes to be imployed, for ſo ſhalt
thou be eſteemed and reuerenced of all thoſe that beholde
thee for thine honorable perſon, as a man moſt worthy to
inioy that ſeate, wherein thou ſitteſt, and thy nobles and
familiar friendes ſhalbe alſo incenſed through the vali-
auntneſſe and magnanimitie, which they ſee in thee to
immitate the like, gladly yeelding themſelues as copart-
ners and companions in the ſame.

Auguſtus Ceſar
was wont to
tearme braue or
curious Gar-
mentes the ban-
ner or badges of
pride.

When as Alex-
ander Seuerus
was reproued
by his Courte-
ors for his plain
neſſe in apparell,
he anſwered:
that the maieſtie
of a King did con
ſiſt in Princelie
vertues, and
magnanimitie of
minde, and not in
coſtly apparell.

Haue good conſideration of ſuch wordes as ſhall paſſe
thy mouth working alſo in all thy doings with good ad-
uiſe, ſo ſhalt thou be ſure moſt ſeldome to offende. And
truely there can be nothing more commendabler then in
all thinges to obſerue and to keepe a meane, but becauſe
this can not be ſo eaſely diſcerned, it ſhalbe better to pre-
uent an euill motion at the firſt, then to ſuffer it to take
any further roote, for the force of mediocritie is ſooner
perceiued in the ſmalleſt then in the greateſt thinges, for
as vſe preuaileth much to the bringing to paſſe of any
good exerciſes, ſo doth practiſe in miſchiefe make vs ſo
bolde, nay rather ſo blynde that wee can ſcarſe euer or
hardly perceiue or diſcerne the thing that is comely, but
yet if we looke about vs at the firſt before it hath taken
ſuch ſure holde vpon vs, we may eaſely ſhake it of and re-

When as in like
ſort the Counſel-
lers of Alphon-
ſus king of Ara-
gon, ſeemed to
miſlike to ſee
him go appareil-
led in baſer ſorte
then other of his
Nobilitie, and
therefore counte-
ouſlie admoni-
ſhing the king
thereof willed
him to put on
ſuch Ornaments
as were meete
for his eſtate,

the kings anſwere was, that he had rather to excell others in converſation, and authoritie
being to them an Example of well liuing, then to excell them in Princely robes, or to be the
authour of pryde, in wearing of Purples and Silkes. Demonax being aſked of a cer-
taine friend of his, how he ſhould beſt gouerne the Prouince which was committed vnto
his charge, anſwered: that to ſpeake little, and to heare much, was the beſt thing that was
appertaining to a Gouernour. I haue found (ſayd Artabanus) that to take good admoni-
tion is no ſmall profite. Miſchiefe ſayth Cicero at the firſt creepeth, but when it hath
once taken hold, it runneth on headlong and therefore the counſayle of thoſe are not to be re-
fuſed, it is beſt healing the wound while it is greene.

turne againe.

Thou must also vse both in speeche and in gesture, towardes all men, courtesie and lowlinesse, adioyning also thereunto grauitie and sobrietie of countinaunce, the one being most beseeming for all those which beare rule and authoritie, the other as necessarie for all companies. Albeit to vse them both, may seeme a thing most difficile: in that by experience we see them which desyre to beare a certaine maiestie in their doinges, in looking bigge and sowerly on the matter, become at length so stately or rather so stiffe, that they grow to a certaine surlinesse voyd of all humanitie: others also which couet to be accounted courteous, doe often times so abase, and abiect themselues, that through ouer much familliaritie they breede and procure in the end contempt and disdaine, or else doe yeelde a presumption to others to be the bolder to offend, through their too too great lenitie and gentlenesse vsed: wherefore a measure is to be obserued in them both, the inconueniences of the extremities being eschewed.

The counsaile of Chilon is that vnto authoritie there be adioined lenitie and courtesie, for as the one maketh thee to be reuerenced, so doth the other cause thee to be loued and not feared.

Be desirous to learne all such thinges as appertayne and are requisite for the maiestie of a king to vnderstand, now also vnto this willing minde desirous of knowledge, there must be annexed and adioyned good instructions to reade and to be occupied in, as namely the studie of Philosophie, wherevnto in like manner must be applied continuall exercises and practise to bring the same to perfection, for as the one teacheth thee howe, and after what sort eche thing is to be done, so the other maketh thee redie and skilfull in the due ordring and executing of the same.

It was a common saying of Fronto A consull of Rome in the time of Nerua the Emperour: that as it was euill to haue such a prince whose nature should be so hoggish, that seueritie or extremitie should be vsed towardes all men, so is it farre worse to haue so mercifull a gouernour, vnder whome all men should seeme to line at libertie: wherefore when as one said vnto Cleomines, that a good king ought to be mercifull and gentle towards al men: thou saist truth, (said he) so that a mediocritie be obserued, that no contempt doe grow thereby. Antonius Pius had rather to be counted too too pittifull, then through seuerenesse to purchase enmie.

Diligentlie marke and consider the actes and deedes both of Princes and gouernours, as also of other priuate persons either none or heretofore done, & this not without

Philip of Macedon willed his sonne Alexander to vse himselfe familier and lowly towards the people of Macedonia, and yet so dealing, as one hauing a respect to his Princely maiestie, and not sparing to vse offenders extreamely, that as gentlenesse should be an incouragement to good men, so seueritie might bridle the presumption and boldnesse of the wicked. Alexander was so studious and desyrous of lerning, that he alwayes caried about him Homers Iliads. Gordianus the Emperour is reported to haue esteemed bokes more then any treasure, & he had (as saith Textor) in his librarie, 62 thousand bokes.

out good consideration had of the effectes and euentes of euerie of them, and in what order they were accomplished, as also what ensued and followed thereon: for by calling to minde thinges past and comparing the same to thinges present, thou shalt easily giue iudgement of thinges to come.

Thinke it not decent for Princes to leaue that vndone whereby honour and renowne is to bee purchased & gotten, or not to trauell and to apply themselues vnto those studies and labours, whereby in their life time they may be worthily praised, whereas priuate persons haue not spared, willingly to die to ỹ intent after their deathes they might bee commended. Doe thou therefore desire and couet to leaue vnto thy children, the liuely protractures and goodly images of thy Princely vertues and noble actes, rather than any stately picture or curious monument to be erected in remembrance of thy person.

And nowe aboue all thinges indeuour to preserue and to maintaine thy selfe and thy citie in safetie and tranquilitie: but if of necessitie it so fall out that trouble and daunger is to be vndertaken, wishe rather a happie death than a shamefull life, alwayes mindefull of the commoditie of thy Countrey carefully prouiding, that nothing be committed to the blemishe of thy estate, neither that thou shouldest so order thy selfe that thou shouldest seeme as one quite forgotten, or as a man that neuer had been borne, for whereas thou consistest of body and soule, the one being mortall and corruptable, the other immortall

As Zeuxus going about to draw the picture of Iuno did chuse among the goodliest and fayrest of all the Virgines of Agrigentine fyue of the cheefest, so must we collecte and gather out the liues of the best and perfectst men which we can find mentioned in any Historiographer, and by them learne to direct the course of our liues, onely following them in that which is excellent & good.

The counsayle that Solon gaue Crœsus was to consider the ende of euery thing, and carefully to foreesee whereto it tendeth.

A prince (saith Agesilaus) must be inferiour to none in vndertaking of any daunger being profitable for his countrey.

I had rather (said Cato) that men should aske why I had not a mo-

nument made of me, seing I deserued the same, then that men should aske wherefore was this monument erected here, as though the Picture should call to remembrance my acts, and not the worthinesse of my doinges to be such, that they should be of themselues remembred.

Otho the Emperour perceiuing that either he must resigne his Empire, or else be the cause of the slaughter of his people, if he did keepe it, determined to kill himselfe, whereupon his friendes and Souldyers perceiuing that he dispaired of the victorie, willing him not to feare, hee made them this answere, that he esteemed not his life so much that for maintenaunce thereof, he could abide to see any ciuill warre to arise. To winne this eternall memorie, Calicratides would not stay from the Battell, although the Southsayer had told him that he should be slaine in the same, for said he, to flie were infamie, but either to die or to be victorer, shalbe for the praise of my countrey, in the same mind was Hippodamus, who being three scores of age, and therefore willed to depart home, as one vnfit for the warres, did not onely stay, but valiantly encountring with his enemies, was slaine, euen before the face of his Prince and maister Ages, king of Lacedemonia. When as

and perpetuall, it ſhalbe conducible as alſo commendable for thee to leaue an euerlaſting memorie of thy praiſe & good report, which thou haſt obtained by thy well doing while thou here didſt abide, being as it were an immortall remembraunce of thy ſoule which is immortall: for as thou wilt thinke it a ſigne of great good will, and as a thing moſt honorable for thy frendes to keepe in memoriall of thee, the viſnomie and picture of thy body depaynted in ſome table or other, the which they may either lay vp in their Cloſets or hang vp in their houſes, how farre more excellent or rather more princely, ſhall it be for thee to leaue thy renowned actes and worthy enterpriſes not onely diuulged and publiſhed by the mouthes of all thy Citizens, but alſo regiſtred and ſpred abroade into all Countries both farre and neere, by the writinges and ſcroddiles of ſuch as be learned.

Demoſthenes had boldly ſpoken before Philip of Macedon, in the behalfe of his countrey, and Philip had aſked him whether he did not feare that hee would command his hed to be cut of: though thou do ſo, ſaid Demoſthenes, my countrey will reſtore it againe, meaning he ſhould win eternall praiſe.

The renowned Ageſilaus of Lacedemonia being to leaue this life, gaue ſtraight charge that no picture or Monument ſhold be made of him, for ſayd he, if I haue done any worthy act it will be a ſufficient Monument for me, otherwiſe al the pictures in the worlde are not able to make me honourable.

Solon termed the ſpeeche of man to be the image of his workes, Democritus called it the ſhadow of the life, for as Socrates ſaith, looke what the

Remember to accuſtome thy ſelfe to talke & to ſpeake alwayes of ſuch thinges as are accounted good and honeſt, that by ſo doing thy inward and ſecrete thoughtes, may alſo bee induced and practiſed to the meditating of the like, and ſo likewiſe to performe and to accompliſhe that in deede which thou haſt before ſo well and godly conceiued and imagined in thy minde, continually labouring & applying thy ſelfe to immitate and to follow that for which thou ſhalt ſee other men commended or praiſed hauing as it were enuie at him which ſhall ſeeme to ſurpaſſe thee in well doing, and neuer to ceaſe vntill thou haſt counteruailed or ouertaken him, giuing alſo a liuely example in thy ſelfe, as touching thoſe thinges which thou ſhalt will or commaunde thy children or ſeruauntes to obſerue, whether it be as appertaining vnto ſuch pre-

ceptes

conuerſation of the man is, ſuch is his talke.

Alexander beholding the Tombe of Achilles, began to weepe through the deſire he had to immitate his vertues and renown. Iulius Ceſar in like ſort, beholding the picture of Alexander, lamented that hee had ſpent his time ſo idlely, being ſo old, before he had equaled the princely acts, and victorious conqueſts of ſo yong a man. Theſeus alſo became an earneſt follower of the vertues of Hercules: & ſo did Themiſtocles the worthines of Miltiades. Eraſmus maketh mention of a certain man which being accuſed for beating his father, affirmed his deede as lawfull, becauſe his Father had in like ſort beaten his graundfather: this doe Children account it as lawfull to doe that which their fathers haue done before, be it good or euill.

repts as are here prescribed by me, or else by inuenting & perscrutating of some other worthier or profitabler of thy selfe.

Moreouer, suppose those men as unworthy of the name of a wise man, which can either curiously and subtilly cauill and reason of the smalest trifles or least causes, or protesting and promising straunge wonders, or as it were mountaines of gold to others when as they themselues doe line and abide in greatest miserie, but rather accept and take those men, as wise which vsing seemliest words, are able to giue best counsel euen in ỳ waighticst matters: so wittily ouering whatsoeuer they take in hand, and so discretly behauing themselues towardes all men, as is to be required, or looked for at the handes of them whom we account most perfectest, ye though they seeme not in any respect to bragge or to boast of their industrie or singularnesse of knowledge: alwayes remaining, as those which being not able to be shaken or mooued with any chaūge or alteration of fortune, haue learned to take in good part, and patiently to beare either prosperitie or aduersitie.

And thus to conclude, least I might be supposed too too tedious, I am humbly to requeſt thee (most mightie and renowned Prince) not at all to marueil or wonder in ỳ I haue touched, euen those things which (as well I know) are both knowen to thy selfe, as also to the most sort of men, because the multitude both of Princes, and other priuate persons is so great and so infinite, that it must followe that some of them haue heretofore spoken the selfe same wordes, which I here haue vsed, many also haue hard the like, or else haue seene the same practised in others, and diuers there be which haue experienced ỳ same in themselues: wherefore it must needes fall out that in this my discourse as touching duetie, being a thing neither straunge, incredible nor vnusuall, no kinde of nouelties are to be looked for, yet neuertheleſſe his labour is to be thankefully accepted, which shall take the

A wise man saith Thales Miletus will not speake but when it is needefull, and when he is asked, he vseth but few words, so discretely dealing in al things, that he repenteth him of nothing. Aristotle did alwayes counsell his Schollers neither to praise, neither to dispraise themselues.

Bragging and boasting persons are likened of Plutarche to the Cipres tree, which being great and mightie, doth neuer beare any fruite. When as Lisimachus had threatned to put Theodorus the Philosopher to a sharpe and and euell death he made him this answere, O Lisimachus threaten this vnto those that weare silke gownes, as for me I passe not whether I rotte vpon the ground or hang on a gibbet.

paines to collect and gather together, yea & to set downe in a small compasse, to the sight of all the world, a number of thinges lying as it were scattered here and there, in the hartes and mindes of diuers men. But I knowe the vse of most men is such, that though they adiudge the workes and inuentions of Poets, and of all other writers containing graue and good perswations vnto vertue to be commendable, and most profitable, yet can they not finde in their heartes to bestowe so much time as to reade and to peruse the same, but remaine in such sort affectioned towardes them, as most men are to those which shal goe about to giue them good counsell: that is, they will giue them thankes for their good will and paines taken, thinking themselues as bounde vnto them in that they seeme to haue a care of their well doing, yet neuertheless they loue their companie, as the beare loues to come to the stake, which is as all men knowe against his will, nay they will rather of the twaine, keepe them company which are the vpholders of their follie, then once to come within the sight of them which indeuour to perswade them from their wickednesse and mischiefe: As examples for proofe hereof may be inferred the workes of Hesiodus, Theognes, and Phocilides, for euery man affirmeth that in these their writings, are contained excellent and singuler preceptes, appertaining to the perfect direction of well liuing. But although they say thus much to the praise and commendations of the writers, yet had they rather to spend their time in the reading of that whereto their owne madnesse and fondnesse inuiteth them, then to be exercised in any of the workes before specified, be they neuer so profitable: ye and besides this they remaine in like sort affectioned and disposed towardes them, which for their helpe and furtherance shall take the paines, briefely to gather together the pithie sentences of such writers, to the intent that either the lacke of leasure, or tediousnesse or rather slouthfulnesse, might hinder them from so great a benefite: because of the

We ought rather to respect the profite then pleasure, in the reading of any Authour.

How carelesse and negligent men be to peruse any Godly Booke.

Such is the force of vertue, that is commended and well liked of, euen among the wicked, though they loue nothing worse then to follow it.

What great profite they bring both vnto students, as also to all others which take the paines to collect in breuiaries the pithy and principall sentences of other mens writings.

the largeneſſe & hugeneſſe of the volumes, which would require long and continuall ſtudie: but yet had they rather (though by this meanes they may ſee euen in one mouth: as much as the writer painefully hath noted with many yeares trauell:) to reade ouer the vileſt Commodie or tragidie bee they meere fables and fantaſies than any ſuch graue and learned diſcourſes, yea though they be moſt artificially penned: but why doe I ſtay ſo long vppon euery trifling matter: for if wee throughly conſider and marke the natures and conditions of al men generally, wee ſhall finde many of them to delight neither in meats that be not wholſome, nor in ſtudies which be altogether honeſt, nor in deedes that be moſt conuenient, neither in doctrine that is moſt commodious, but only imbracing and following their owne fooliſh appetites to make moſt account of thoſe thinges which are not onely vnſeeming and hurtfull, but alſo moſt repugnant to their owne commoditie, eſteeming them as actiue, wittie and painefull perſons, which ſhewe themſelues ꝑ greateſt neglectours of their duetie, or as I might ſay the readieſt to follie, and proneſt to worke their owne confuſion: wherefore howe may a man deale to pleaſe and content ſuch kinde of people, how is it poſſible to giue them good counſell, or to let them to vnderſtande any thing that is auaileable and profitable for their preſeruation and ſafegard, eſpecially in that they are not onely ſo diſpoſed and bent as is aforeſaid, but doe alſo beare a deadly hatred & enuie towardes the wiſeſt, hauing indignation at them which ſpeake truely, and accounting the plainely & true meaning man, a witleſſe idiot and ſenceleſſe dolte being ſo farre wide frō vnderſtanding the truth in euery thing, that they can neuer come to the knowledge of their owne eſtate. And herevpon it commeth to paſſe, that if at any time they fall into any cogitation or conſultation with themſelues, as concerning their owne affaires, they preſently become both heauie and penſiue, in that ſeeing their owne follie when it is too late, they know not howe

Adde therefore Diogines when he had a graue matter to vtter to the people, would (to the end to make them to come to heare him) ſing and counterfeit the foole in the market place.

Such as were Commodus, Caligula, and Heliogabilus, and ſuch others which rewarded them moſt which were apteſt to inuent the lewdeſt deuiſes.

The wicked haue alwayes a deſperate and troubled minde.

to

to remedie the same: but yet in talking, and reasoning of other mens matters, they will laugh and reioyce desiring rather to abide, and suffer any miserie or mishap, incident to the bodie, then to exercise their wittes or to beate their braines in forecasting with themselues any thing that might be either necessarie or expedient to the maintenance and succouring of this their miserable life: yea thou shalt finde them when they are in companie together, either backbyting, and reproouing other mens doinges, or else falling out and reuiling eche other, being continually at daggers drawing, and likewise when they are alone then doe they also vse to spend their time in wishing for this or for that, but neuer consulting or deliberating, howe or after what sort they might frame themselues to get their liuing honestly and orderly. But I doe not speake this generally as of all men, but onely against such as are infected with any of those vices, which I before haue mentioned: yet truely this is most manifestly apparent that they which are minded to write any thing either in verse or prose, the which they would haue commended and well liked of among the people, they must not goe about to set forth any graue or profitable matter, but rather some foolish toy or vain imaginations, for in the reading of such trifles is their chiefest felicitie, as for wittie sayings, & graue sentences they waigh them not, except they be as it were againe reuiued, as liuely and exactly set out before their sightes: Wherefore the workes of Homer and of those men also which at the firste inuented Tragedies and Comodies, are greatly to bee commended and praised, in that perceiuing the fond and vaine disposition of mans nature, they directed their pennes to satisfie their humors, by both those meanes, the one by imitating and counterfeiting, the combattes and incounters of those men, whom for their vertues they termed by the name of halfe gods, the other describing by gestures on stages, the doinges of our auncestours bringing them again into actual apparance, to the intent

This caused Appius Claudius to say that trouble was better for the people of Rome, then quietnesse and peace because securitie breedeth idlenes and riotous liuing.

As is seene by many in these dayes which doe rather buy rimming Sonets, and Pallaces of pleasure, then any booke containing wise Sentences, and godly instructions.

But not such Commodies as are plaide in these dayes, containing onely toyes and bables as are the lyues of rogues and Idiots, with Poeticall inuentions appertai-

iutent that wee might not onely heare, but also beholde the same, with our outward eyes the more to stirre vs to beare it in memorie. And thus by these and such like proofes, it is plainely confirmed and approoued that they which desire to please there hearers and to seeke their good willes, must indeuour to write and to speake that thing onely which they perceiue the people to be best delighted withall, as for graue admonitions and godly exhortations they must not meddle nor deale withall.

You may come to a playe now, and neither vnderstand the beginning nor ending, for it containeth not any example of well liuing, but onely a fardell of gibes cobled togither by an ignorant Idiot.

And this haue I spoken to signifie vnto thee, that as thou art not one of that many, that is a member of that rude multitude, but a King and gouernour ouer many, so surely it is vnseeming for thee, to bee of their disposition or nature, as one more esteeming thy pleasure, and such things as may cause or procure fond and foolish delights rather then the sage aduise and graue admonitions of the prudente and discrete counsellers, geuing iudgement in all causes and of all persons, not according to thy sensuall appetites, but as the veritie of the thing shall leade thee, and as their dealings by iust triall shall rightly discerne of thee. And whereas they whom wee tearme the maisters of wisedome, seeme to be at variaunce, and greatly to disagree among themselues, as concerning the exercises of the minde, being as it were of diuers opinions therein, some perswading their hearers that they shal attaine to the perfection of wisedome and knowledge, by dayly practising and exercising themselues in the subtill and wylie pointes of Sophistrie: others affirming the like skill to bee attained vnto, if they perfectly beare in memorie the preceptes and rules of Rethorike: and another sorte saying as much vnto them, which shall diligently apply themselues to the searching out of the hidden natures and straunge properties of euery thing existing and being within the reache of mans capacitie, and so euery one in his arte, promising a certaine singularitie and yet all as agreeing in this, that they thinke it necessarie for a man that desireth and coueteth throughly to be

Iustice to be ministred indifferently to all men.

Though there are seuerall precepts appertaining to euery art, yet al tende to one end, and they are all as keyes to one Coffer.

instructed, to collect and to gather from euery one of these there saide studies, matter sufficient whereby he may come to the full perfection of wisedome, as also to the perfect knowledge of good counsell, letting passe therefore those thinges, whereof any doubt may arise, let vs indeuour to apply our selues vnto that which is certaine, whereof there can growe no kinde of controuersie, and by whose helpe wee may easily iudge of all the rest: Wherefore, as touching those thinges which may seeme to require present consultation, take thy aduise of thy counsellers about thee, not respecting either them which shooting as it were at rouers, speake generally of all thinges neither those which through their ignorance shew themselues to perceiue and to vnderstand nothing which is as then expedient and necessarie to bee done, for it can not be that he which is vnskilfull, as appertayning to the furtheraunce of his owne affaires, shoulde bee able to giue good counsell to another. See therefore that thou highly esteeme and make great account of those men which hauing in them, a valiaunt and noble minde, are able throwe their wisedome & prudencie, to foresee & forecast the euentes and happes of euerie thing which is or may bee incident vnto thee, perswading thy selfe that thou possessest and enioyest no treasure more royall, nor any thing else more worthier then is a faithfull and graue counseller: moreouer adiudge them as most trustie vnto thee, as most carefull for thy safetie, and as the onely inrichers, and vpholders of thy kingdome which diligently shall seeke to adorne and beautifie thy minde with vertue and knowledge. And as for my part I am and shalbe readie to yeelde thee that honour which possible I may, hauing at this time thus briefely presumed to admonishe thee according to my simple vnderstanding in all such thinges as I thought requisite and expedient for thee, hoping that thou wilt as courteously accept the same as it hath beene friendly and willingly offered, wishing also that they likewise whose vse it is (as I said in the beginning) to

The difference betwixt a counseller and a Philosopher.

He often repeteth the great and vnspeakeable treasure that ỳ Prince hath which inioyeth a faithfull counseller.

He yeeldeth his obeisaunce, requesting an acceptable accepting of this his gifte.

to bestowe those giftes vpon thee, which thou dost dearer buy at the giuers handes, then they themselues did of the first sellers, would nowe also by this my example accustome themselues to present thee, hereafter with those presentes which being dayly occupied and worne, will at no time impaire, but rather augment and increase, and become the more precious by often handling: and thou also for thy part contemning the former as thinges both vaine and friuolous, to shewe thy selfe as one onely delighted with the latter, so shall not onely the folly of the giuer be reproued, and he constrained thereby to frame himselfe to finde out some such gifte wherewith he shall vnderstand thee to be best pleased, but also thou thy selfe: the receiuer both bettered and profited thereby.

Hauing relation to his first entraunce, he endeth his Oration with a briefe admonition partly commending the worthines of his workes.

The ende of the seconde Oration of that famous and learned Oratour Isocrates, concerning the Morall instructing of Princes and Magistrates, as touching the gouernment of themselues and their Countries.

The preface of the Translatour vnto the third Oration of Morall instructions, written by that famous and learned Oratour Isocrates, containing the discourse made by Nicocles king of Salamis vnto his people, and therefore termed by the Authour Nicocles.

YOu haue hard howe and after what sort Isocrates in his former treatise hath instructed, and taught Nicocles the king of Salamis in all those things which he thought necessarie and requisite for the Maiestie of a Prince, as also for euery other Magistrate, to whom the charge of the common weale should happen to be committed, the whole effect thereof, almost consisting in this one onely point, that is, that they should indeuour, as farre to excell and surpasse all other their inferiours in vertue and knowledge, as they doe exceede them in degree and authoritie, seeking immortall praise through their well doinges and godly gouernments. Now in the third Oration is declared & expressed, in like sort the duetie of all true subiectes and faithfull Citizens to bee vsed, and obserued towardes their Princes and gouernours: and this is expressed, as it were by Nicocles himselfe speaking vnto his Nobles and courteours, and to the rest of his people, worthie to be read, perused and followed, of all those which are desirous to shewe themselues faithfull, and obedient subiectes vnto their most gratious gouernesse, not forgetting dayly and hourely to yeeld most hartie thankes vnto the vnspeakeable goodnesse and mercie of God, in sending vs so carefull and so louing a mother in Israell: vvhose most gratious raigne the Lord of his goodnesse both prosper and continue, in most happie and blessed wise oner vs, to the confirmation and

and eſtabliſhing of his truth, to her Maieſties endleſſe praiſe, and to the perpetuall comfort and commoditie of vs all. The order obſerued by the Authour in this Oration, conſiſteth in three partes, the firſt his entraunce or beginning, containing the defence of Eloquence, with the reproofe of thoſe lewde, and euill diſpoſed perſons, partly expreſſed in the concluſion of the former Oration. The ſecond part is as touching the ſtate of a monarchie or gouernment of a kingdome vnder one man alone, as is the rule and dignitie of an Emperour or king: herein confirming the right & title which Nicocles had vnto the kingdome which he then poſſeſſed and enioyed. The thirde and laſt, comprehendeth and containeth the duetie of ſubiectes towardes their princes, with a briefe concluſion annexed therevnto. But chiefely and principally I would wiſhe all true Chriſtians, liuing in theſe daungerous dayes (wherein ſinne and iniquitie ſeeme to haue the vpper hand, the diuell ſeeking by all meanes poſſible to ouerthrowe the truth of gods word by intiſing of them to lewdneſſe and licentiouſneſſe of life, to whom the charge thereof is committed) to marke and conſider the firſt part of this diſcourſe, applying the ſame as a ſalue to their troubled conſciences, not miſliking or condemning the true and ſincere preaching of Gods worde, agreeable to his Goſpell, becauſe of the euill liues, and lewde dealinges of them who are the preachers and miniſters of the ſame: for as our Authour prooueth, that the ſtudie of Eloquence is not to be miſliked or condemned, becauſe diuers abuſe the ſame, neither yet any other good gift to be diſpraiſed, in that ſome haue applyed it to an euill purpoſe: ſo ſurely we are not to miſlike or to iudge of the veritie of Gods Booke by the outwarde dealinges and workes of men, as condemning the Sermons and preachinges of them whoſe wordes are not repugnant vnto the veritie, becauſe hauing prea-

ched to others they themselues become reprobates, but we ought rather to pray to the Lord for their amendment, and to flie vnto his deputie our most gratious Queene, together with her most honorable Counsell that sincere discipline might be admitted, vsed and ordered without respect of persons, that all other inferiour Magistrates to whom any charge is committed, would be more carefull of their charge, more circumspect in their dealinges, as men more respecting the performaunce of their dueties the profiting of their Countrie, the rooting out of sinne and iniquitie with a feruent desire, to the aduauncing of vertue and planting of a godly conuersation in all men then either for feare of displeasure to become fearefull through fauour or affection, to be men partiall or for the sparing of their purses', auoyding of trouble, or taking of paynes to be found in any thing seduced, contrarie to the nature of a good man, and that euerye one of vs perticulerly might haue that grace as to looke into our owne consciences to redresse our owne faultes, and speedily to amend that which we shall finde as amisse in our selues and so shall wee bee sure that according to the promise of him which is the onely truth, and neuer suffereth any one to be denied in so iust a petition, that these cobwebs which so trouble vs, shall at length be swept away that all such mystes as seeme to darken the brightnesse of his glory shall to our great comfort vanishe and be exhausted as vapours, and that all tares and darnells shall be so cleanly selected and sifted from the pure corne, that I doubt not but euery Englishe man shall as boldly say of this our Countrie, as did Leonidas of Sparta, namely, that euery man doth so carefully apply himselfe to the fulfilling of his duetie that there is not one that liueth licentiously, the which the Lord of his infinite goodnesse and mercy graunt vs. And thus gentle Reader, as one not appointing the Lord a

time

time, but patiently abyding his pleasure, framing thy will to his, vsing this medicine as the onely salue to cure all thy diseases, wishing thee by the approoued reasons and pithie argumentes of this Panim to bee perswaded from so fond an errour, adioyning my selfe as a copartner with thee in the same, I will giue leaue to the Authour himselfe to vtter his opinion vnto thee, the which I pray God thou maist both diligently marke and alwayes remember.

The

The third Oration of Morall instructions, written by that famous and learned Oratour Isocrates, containing the discourse made by Nicocles King of Salamis vnto his people, and therefore termed by the Authour Nicocles.

He maketh his hearers attentiue in commending vnto them the excelent gifte of Eloquence.

WHereas there are certaine men of whome the studie of Eloquence seemeth to be misliked laying also vnto their charge which spend their time in the perscrutating and searching forth of wisedome and knowledge that they prescribe & set forth rules and preceptes appertaining vnto their artes more in respect of their owne commoditie and gaine, then for any zeale or affection that they beare vnto vertue her selfe, I would gladly know of these mē which are of this opinion, why they should finde so great fault with them, whose desire is to attaine vnto the perfection of speach, seeing they doe so highly praise and commend those that so earnestly practise and indeuour to purchase themselues credite by their well doinges: for if the commoditie and profite arising thereby bee, that wherewith they are greeued, then truely haue they greater cause to mislike the other then this. For who seeth not greater gaine gotten by one good deede, then by an hundred woordes be they vttered & spoken neuer so sweetely. But what may better declare their follie herein, then if they shoulde confesse themselues so senceleſſe as not to vnderstand and perceiue that the cause and ende wherefore we doe so much esteeme the pureneſſe of life, so greatly regard iustice, and temperancie & so earnestly apply our selues to all other vertuous exercises is that we may enioy and possesse the greater commodities thereby, and not that wee should bee of baser and meaner estate then others are. There is therefore no reason to condemne those thinges as euill through the which vertue being adioyned, we may be able to excell and surpasse

This was the cursed opinion of Licinius, and Valentianus Emperours who accounted learning as a poyson and common pestilence in a common weale.

Honour saith Socrates, is only proper vnto those that are indued with vertue and therefore Agesilaus vnderstanding that the king of Persia was called by the name of a great and mighty Prince, wherin said he, is he greater or better then I, except he excell men in Iustice or temperancye.

others

others our inferiours, but rather those men are to bee adiudged culpable, and the faulte to bee imputed vnto them whiche doe seeme so lewdlye to abuse those good giftes through their euill applying of the same, as they doe which conuert and tourne Eloquence, the maintainer of truth, to be an vpholder & procurer of deceite and wrong. And now also if this abuse be the cause why some men do so greatly mislike her, I maruell wherefore they do not in like sort account riches, strength of body and valiauntnesse of hart as the thinges which are euil, because sometimes they are wickedly bestowed and applyed, for they may as rightly alledge the same in the reproche of all other good giftes, as to saye, Eloquence is to be hated, in that some that professe that arte, are lying and deceitfull persons: Are there not diuers men which being indued with the singulerst qualities and most excellentst knowledge, haue not onely offended themselues, but also procured the harmes of many others, yet neuerthelesse those good giftes in them were not to be misliked no more then the strength of the body is to be accused, because the owner thereof rashly beateth, and vyolently oppresseth euery one that meeteth him, or the magnanimitie of mind to be supposed as euill, in that murtherers and theeues doe abuse the same, for the wickednesse of the man is not to be imputed as infamous vnto any good gifte, wherewith he is indued, but rather to his own vyle and corrupt nature which doth so dissolutely mispend those good qualities, turning that to the spoyle, and destruction of their Cittizens, which was giuen them for their preseruation and mayntenaunce, and in this sort hauing no regarde to the distinguishing of eche perticuler thing because of the peruerse dealinges of some, they fondly blame euen generally

Arcadianus being commended by a friend of his, in that he had valiantly ouerthrown the Arcadians in battell, aunswered, it had bene more honourable if we had ouercame them in vertu, for brute bests are able to conuince vs by strength.

Pantholidas hauing heard the Philosophers of Athens learnedly disputing of vertue, did not mislike their words, because they liued dissolutely, but being asked how he liked their disputation, I must said he needes affirme their wordes to be good, but yet altogither vnprofitable to them which in nothing doe follow the same.

As did Aeschius and Ctesiphon in Athens, who, though they for their abusing of that good gift which was in them were banished, yet was their art nothing infamed thereby. These men, saith Cleantes, are like vnto an instrument, which yeelding a pleasant sound to others, it nothing profiteth it selfe. When as the Romanes hauing put downe their kings because of the licenciousnesse of Tarquin, which was the last, and now had deserued to liue at libertie, rising vp in armes against the sacred Senate, in so much that the state of their cōmon weale was now most miserable, only Publius Valerius through his eloquent Oration so perswaded them from this their madnesse, and preserued the cittie from ruine.

M. Antonius by his eloquēt and sugred speeche, so appeased the wrath of them that were sent to kill him, that they put vp their swordes, and departed from him, as men amazed.

Phillip of Macedon did know that the force of Eloquence was the only and chiefest vpholder of the estate of a common weale, in that he so instantly sued vnto the Athenians for their ten Orators, at that time remaining among them.

In whome, saith Demosthenes, the study of Eloquēce is, that man is one that seeketh to please all men, but he that sheweth himselfe a contemner and dispiser of the same, is such a one as esteemeth by force and violence to bring all men to his becke, nothing waying or re-

rally without any exception, the whole studie of Eloquence, being so deepely drowned in this their errour that they perceiue not themselues to become deadly enimies euen vnto that, then the which nothing hath been graunted vnto mankinde more profitable or more necessarie, for there is no difference betwixt vs & all other liuing creatures in any other qualitie: but onely in this, nay, we are surpassed of euery of them, either in quicknesse or in strength or in any other gifte, which nature hath bestowed vppon vs, but onely in that through this singuler benefite, we take aduisementes and consultations of eche thing as well present as past, as also to vtter and to expresse to eche other our mindes and opinions, by the which perticuler priuiledge, we doe not onely varie and differ from that brutishe life, but also learne by good forecast to builde Cities, to make lawes, and to inuent al Artes and trades of well liuing, dooing nothing which may be accounted singuler and exquisite, but that Eloquence is the chiefest furtherer of the same, in so muche that nothing is brought to passe without her helpe, for it is she onely that ordaineth and appointeth a conuenient and decent order to bee obserued, both in thinges lawfull or vnlawfull, honest or dishonest, and in all causes whatsoeuer they be, for otherwise the societie of mankinde could not be maintained: It is she which reproueth and correcteth the wicked, incourageth and imboldneth the godly, instructeth the foolishe, craueth the counsell and iudgement of the wise: dissolueth and dispatcheth all quarrels and controuersies, and procureth the knowledge and vnderstanding of thinges vnknowne. Those reasons which we vse in our pleadinges to ꝑ perswading of others, are also as common to vs in our priuate deliberations and conferences, in so much that wee iudge those men to be eloquent, which can discreetly and orderly frame their declamations before the people, as also wittily behaue themselues in the consulting and deliberating of eche perticuler matter. For we thinke it

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an especiall token of a good iudgement & perfect brayne, to vtter our wordes in decente and comelye order, and that faire and honest talke is a sure signe of a plaine and true meaning heart: but to speake effectually of the full force of this science, wee shall finde nothing done with reason which hath not been brought about by the helpe of Eloquence, so that she remaineth the chiefest guide of all our thoughtes and deedes, being the onely instrument of the wise and learned. Nowe therefore as touching those men whose vse it is to speake so reprochefully of the maisters of this arte, and of all such as shewe themselues studious in the knowledge of good literature, truely in my opinion they are as greatly to be hated and misliked, as are they which cursedly violate and spoyle the temples of the gods immortall. As I therefore thus commend the Orations and writinges of all men what so euer they bee, out of the which the least commoditie is to be gotten, so surely I must needes account those Authors as most singuler & worthiest for the handes of all Princes and kinges (and especially for mee) which seeme so liuely to set downe before our eyes, all honest exercises of wel liuing, as also the right and perfect order of the true and good gouernance of euery Common weale: but yet especially aboue the rest I am inforced throughe their owne desertes highly to praise and extoll the workes and sceadilles of those men which haue taken the paines directly to discribe, not onely howe and after what sorte Princes ought to behaue themselues, in the ruling and ordering of their people, but also in what manner it becommeth subiectes to bee affectioned towardes their Princes and Gouernours: for by these meanes the prosperous estate of eche Citie and Countrie is both augmented and preserued. And as touching the first of these twaine, concerning the duetie of Kinges and Princes,

specting any gentle perswations.

Demetrius Phalerius affirmed that eloquence was of as great force at home in the common weale, as is the sword in the field, the one seeking to subdue our enimies by force, the other to perswade & to induce by reasons the people to the obeying of ẏ lawes, ond imbrasing of vertue.

King Pyrrhus was wont to say that he wanne more Cities by the Eloquence and Oratoriall skill, of his Embassedor Crimeas, then euer he did by force of armes.

Alphonsus being asked whō he thought the best and faithfulst counseller aunswered: his bookes, for of them saith he, I shall be sure to heare that

which is necessary for me to know, plainely tolde me, without feare or affection.

Demetrius Phalerius exhorted Ptolome the King of Egipt, carefully to prouide such bookes, as appertained to the gouernment of a Kingdome, as also dilligently to reade them ouer, for that sayd he that thy counsellers fearing to displease thee, dare not vtter, thou shalt there fynde it written.

you haue hardely at large discoursed by Isocrates, that graue and learned Oratour, nowe as appertaining to the second part, which is of the loyaltie and fidelitie of Citizens, towardes their Magistrates and rulers, I my selfe doe minde to declare vnto you, not in that I desire or seeke to excell or in the least thing to equall the excellencie of the man, but because I thinke it my parte and duetie, rather then any other in this case especially, louingly and friendly to vse a fewe wordes vnto you. For there is no reason why I should bee offended, if you doe transgresse in any thing that is displeasing vnto mee, whereas I neuer expressed nor vttered vnto you heretofore, neither what I would haue obserued and followed, neither that which I would haue wished to haue been eschewed and auoyded, but if nowe after you vnderstande my minde and from my owne mouth haue harde, what thinges I shall will and commaund you (being as well profitable vnto your selues as vnto me) if ye then offende if ye indeuour not to fulfill such thinges as I shall giue you in charge, then truely I shall haue iust cause to bee angrie and moued at that your so contemptuous disobedience. And now to the ende that you may bee the better incensed and stirred as well to marke and to beare away that which shall be spoken, as also willingly hereafter to practise, and to followe the same, I minde not only briefly to declare vnto you that which is to be saide, as concerning those thinges which are requisite on your behalfe, but also to signifie vnto you, howe greatly you ought to esteeme and regarde this estate of gouernment which you nowe are vnder, not onely in respect of your owne necessitie, because of duetie you ought to bee so or in that you haue

Hauing deuided the estate of euery well ordred common weale, into two parts, the one consisting in good and iust gouernment, the other in true obeying, taking occasion as in that the one part hereof had bene let passe by Isocrates, with due reuerence had vnto the man, the king himselfe purposeth to show vnto his subiectes what duetifull obedience is. Marcus Curius being Consull, when he vnderstoode that a certaine yong man had contemptuously disobeied his commaundment he presently spoyled him of all his goods, and possessions selling them vnto other, by the mouth of the publique Crier, and afterward deliuered his body into the tribunes of the people, to be solde as a bond man, affirming that he had no neede of that Citizen, which knewe not how to obay the commaundement of his gouernoure. When as Manlius Torquatus had giuen commaundement that no man shoulde incounter with the enimies, or moue out of the campe, before they heard farther from him, and it so fell out that contrary to his commaundement, his owne sonne did set vppon them, and ouerthrew them, because he knew that there was nothing more daungerous then to suffer so contemptious disobedience to scape vnpunished, he put to deth his owne sonne, yea though he were victorer.

haue alwayes vsed the selfe same order in former time: but also because the worthinesse and excellencie of this kinde of gouernment, is such that it surpasseth and excelleth all others, hauing me to your King, not possessing this authoritie as gotten either contrarie to your lawes, or by force and violence vsed vnto any or as an vsurper, but as receiuing the same rightly and lawfully, as well in the behalfe of all my auncestours, as of my father, and also as I hope in respect of my selfe. For these things being foreshowne vnto you, and on your partes as throughly waighed and considered as they ought to be, I doubt not but that euery one of you will confesse and acknowledge himselfe worthy of extreame punishment, if he should stubbornely and disloyally disobey this my counsell and friendly exhortation giuen vnto you. First therefore according to my promise, as concerning the estates of Common weales, I suppose euery man to be agreeable with me in this: that it is not meete, that the good and euill men should be as all one, or that the foolish and wisest should seeme as haile fellowes, but that it is necessarie that an order should be obserued, & a difference should be made betwixt them, that euery one might be esteemed, and preferred according to his worthinesse: but in those realmes where the gouernment, and authoritie consisteth in the handes of a fewe, or in the whole multitude there is desired, and obserued an equalitie of persons, supposing the estates of their kingdomes as then most safest and in best case, when as one man beareth no greater authoritie than another, a kinde of life no doubte most acceptable to wicked and dissolute liuers. Nowe contrarily in a Monarchie where one onely possesseth the supe-

It cannot continue long, said Theopompus that sodainlye springeth vp aloft, as is seene in the beete, but that which increaseth by dayly continuaunce, by little, and little, and so commeth to be great, continueth and abideth long, as doth the Oke, approuing with Socrates that kingdomes vnlawfully and wrongfully possessed, cannot long time prosper, according to that true and common saying: the goods euill gotten, are soone spente.

It is an honorable thing, saith Antisthenes, to be borne a King, but it is more honorable through thy vertues and Princelye qualities to deserue the same of thy selfe.

That is true nobilitie said Iphicrates, which is gotten by our owne worthines, and not that which proceedeth to vs from our Auncesters. Antisthenes beeing asked what thing did most portend the dissolution of a common weale, aunswered, when as there is no difference made betwixt the good and the bad. Wee do not saide Cato the elder, aduaunce them to honour and authoritie, which weare Purple gownes, but those which shew forth the greatest proofe of their vertuous behauiour, and integritie of life, that by this meanes the youth of our Citie might be incensed the greedier to imbrace vertue, whom onely they do see to be honored

The societie of mankinde is then best maintained, as answered Theophrastus, whē as the wicked are restrained by punishment and the godlye incouraged with the reward of honour, euerye one being ordred according to his deserts.

riority, there is due honour done to euery one according to his calling, the best and chiefest as placed in the principallest roomes, the next vnto him in like order in the neerest place, the third and fourth in their degrees, and so euery one in comely and decent manner as he is founde in vertue and wisedome, the which though it be not the vse in euery Countrie, yet notwithstanding such is the happie estate of this our Citie. And if we doe marke the diuersitie of wittes, the sundry practises and enterprises among men one farre exceeding and excelling another wee must needes confesse no kinde of Regiment comparable in any respect to the worthinesse of a Monarchie. For where no reward is to be looked for, what incouragement can men haue to doe good, nay rather who is so senceleſſe which would not wishe himselfe a Citizen or subiect in that common weale, in which his vertues and valiauntnesse shall bee renowned and rewarded, then to leade his life in such sort that though he doe neuer so well, yet shall he alwayes remaine in base and meane estate. Moreouer, we must needes confesse the gouernment Monarchable, so much the tollerabler and the indifferenter, howe muche more easier it is to please and satisfie the minde and commaundement of one man, then the sundry and diuerse dispositions of many. Thus as you see it is proued most euidentlye (though diuers other allegations might bee inferred) that the rule and authoritie of one man is of all other estates the delectablest, the mercifullst, and the most tollerablest and surest: but yet to goe a little further by comparing eche estate one with the other, we shall finde none more speedier in the dispatching and bringing to passe of any thing, none more readier in consulting and forecasting of any daunger or perill to come, or elſe more carefull or watchfull for the commoditie and preseruati-

How can men haue any zeale or desyre to do good, when as there is no reward to be hoped for, sayd Anaximenes, and therefore Alexander at all such times as any difficult aduenture was to bee vndertaken, did presently proclaime certaine rewardes and prizes to them that should enterprise the same.

Maximinus being asked why he tooke so great paines seing he was in that authority that hee

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might liue quietly, answered: that it behoued him, the higher in authoritie he was the more to be carefull, and to take the greater paines. Valpasianus being greeuously afflicted with sickneſſe, would not bee absente from hearing of causes, but commaunded all such suters as had to doe with him, to come to his bed syde, for which when he was reproued by his nobilitie and willed to spare himselfe, no

on of all men indifferently, then are kinges and Princes enioying that sole authoritie: for they which euerie yeare chuse newe Magistrates, doe first leade a priuate and meane life before they come to the knowledge howe or after what sort to take vpon them that generall charge so that their skill must needes bee small whose practise continueth so short a time, whereas they who continually possesse this their princely estate, must needes be singuler through so long experience had therein, yea though their knowledge at the first enteraunce thereunto were small: moreouer where there are many rulers and euery one hauing equall authoritie, they commonly stand straying of curtsie, staring one vpon another, and as it were shifting the matter one to the other, whereby they either leaue many thinges vndone, or else suffer much to perishe for lacke of heede taking, but the other knowing that on thē onely dependeth the whole charge, doe not cease continually to be carefull and diligent to looke to the ordering of euery thing. Againe, the other fall often times at deadly variaunce and ciuill dissention amongest themselues to the vtter ruine and subuersion of their Citties & townes, but kinges and Princes (hauing no man as their better at whom they should enuie) seeke and studie by all meanes possible, to bring that to passe which may be most profitable for their subiectes and most agreeable vnto their honours. The other also spend most part of their time about their owne affaires, hauing alwayes an inward desire to profite themselues, whereby they are often founde slacke and negligent in discharging their dueties, ye and when they meete together as to consult as concerning the estate of their Countrie, thou shalt sooner finde them taunting and

said he, an Emperour must die studying, as one euer carefull for the estate of his kingdom.

When as Hannibal had hard the arguments of a certaine Stoic affirming that a learned man was onely meete to be an Emperour or gouernour, he presently laughed thereat, supposing it vnpossible that any man should be skilfull in that which he had not learned by experience and practise.

Augustus Cesar was wont to counsell the Romanes to commit the charge of the common weale to such as had greatest experience.

As did Cesar and Pompey, Scaurus also,

and Rutilius, with diuers others. when as Cressus had adioyned vnto his Brother as Copartner with him in gouernment of the kingdome of Lidia, one of his counsellers came vnto him and tolde him that as there was nothing better for the increase of the earth then one sonne, who being taken away, all thinges would perrish, so is there nothing hurtfuller, then to haue two sonnes to shine, for by their heate, it must needes follow that all thinges should perrish. Although in the Romane gouernment there are diuers to be reported which esteemed more the profyte of their countrey then their owne gaine, yet is it knowen vnto all those that

and reuiling one another, then friendly agreeing to laye their heades together for the welfare of their people: but the Princely Monarchies without respecte of time hauing no lette nor staye to the contrarie are busyed both day and night, omitting no occasion giuen vnto them, but speedily dispatching eche thing in due season: Furthermore, those yeerely gouernours enuying the prosperous successe of their fellowes (being either companions with them in their office, or elle as hauing been their predicessors in the same charge before,) will doe their indeuours (as much as they may) to cause them to bee seduced by others whereby they may bee feunde faultie in their dealings, to the intent that they themselues might gaine the more credite and commendations for that which they shall doe, whereas they which enioy this principalitie for terme of their liues, without checke or controll haue alwayes one desire, one heart, one and the selfe same good will vnto their subiectes at all times and in all causes, accounting the whole Common weale as their owne inheritance, ordering the same with no lesse care then they would doe their owne housholde or familie, seeking also for the better directing therefore, to adioyne vnto them the wisest and learnedst among their people, alwayes carefully choosing and electing them to be as executours of their will and commaundementes, whom they shall finde most meetest and skilfullest in such thinges as are at any time to be vndertaken. And as kinges and Princes most esteeme and regard those whom they knowe and vnderstand to be valiaunt and mighty men at armes, able to defend their Realmes in al daungers and troubles. So y other, supposing the charge which they haue in hande as apper-

haue read their Jestes as also the actes of other common weales, where such kinde of gouernment hath bene vsed, that there were continually seditions and factions amongst them, one enuying at the prosperitie of the other, bringing at length through Ciuill discords, the ouerthrow of the whole common weale.

Also did Metellus who because that Quintus Popeius should succeede him in the gouernment of Spaine, spoiled al suche prouision as he then being consull had, to the end the other should not be able to doe any worthy exploit after him.

Antonius Pius would neuer enterprise any thing without the aduise of his counsell affirming that it was meeter that he should be ruled by the graue aduise of his faithfull and wise Counsellers, then that they all should be compelled to follow his onely opinion. The worthy saying of king Pyrrus remaineth as renowned for euer. Giue me said he, neither Golde nor Siluer, nor any other reward, neither yet such as may feede me with delicate dishes but let me haue hardie and valiaunt Souldyers, such as are able in time of neede to defend their countrey from spoile. Licurgus being asked why he would not suffer his citie to be walled about, because said he, that citie needeth no such Munition, whose

appertaining vnto them but for a time, make moſt accoũt and place about them as their chiefeſt counſellers, them whom they knowe to bee the wiſeſt and ſubtleſt Marchantes, being able as occaſion ſeruеth, either to flatter or to deale roughly and ſtoutly with their people, ruling them beſt when they make moſt for their aduauntage. Finally this ſtudious indeuour and fatherly affection of him to whom alone belongeth the ſoueraintie, doth not onely appeare in the well gouerning of his domeſticall & common affaires in time of peace, but alſo in ech thing which ſhall be requiſite and neceſſarie in time of warres, behauing himſelfe in all cauſes more circumſpect and carefull then thoſe yeerelinges: either haue done or can doe. Whether it be as touching the knowledge of the placing of the battell, the guiding and leading forth of one armie, the incouraging and inbolding of his ſouldiers, or elſe as appertaining to the politike directing and conducting of his men, whether it be openly into the fielde, or priuily to worke his enimies ouerthrowe, not ſparing to prouoke the ſlouthfull to make others the readier and forwarder through his liberalitie and bountifulneſſe vſed towardes them, as alſo winning the good will of all men in ſhewing himſelf a companion in their labours, a copartner in their aduentures, a King and Captaine, and yet in courteſie and lowlineſſe a familiar friend and fellowe: neither is this ſo eaſily to be proued by wordes, as it is confirmed and manifeſted by the proofes and teſtimonies of ſundry Common weales: for as we all knowe the Perſian eſtate hath growne vnto this mightineſſe and hugeneſſe which it now poſſeſſeth not by the helpe and counſell of a rude multitude, or by thoſe yeerely Magiſtrates, but onely by the vigilent care and diligent indeuours of their Kinges and Princes: In like ſort alſo haue wee ſeen the wealth

Citizens are valiaunt.

As did Craſſus, Quintus Caſſius, Valerius, and Iulius Poſthumius.

I had rather (ſaid Philip of Macedon) to haue a company of harties, a Lion being their guide then a company of Lions, hauing a hare to their leader.

Albertus the firſt of that name, Duke of Auſtrea, being aſked whom he would appoint as conducter of the Army into the field, whome ſaid he, ſhould doe it but my ſelfe, if I be Duke of Auſtrea for except I be the formoſt, and as becommeth me, the leader of the armie, giuing you incouragement by my owne doinges, boldly and valiauntly ſ come after me, I am not to be called a Duke.

Cimo being to encounter with his enemies at a certaine place caled Cimar, one of his counſellers called Clearchus willed him to withdraw himſelfe, from out the daunger

of the battel: what (ſaid he) Clearchus wouldſt thou haue me to ſhew my ſelf as one vnworthy of a kingdome, whereas I go about to winne a kingdome. Supposing him as vnworthy to be gouernour ouer others, which ſhould be inferiour to any in valiauntneſſe and Magnanimitie of minde. Alexander, Scipio, Ceſar, and Hannibal, with diuers other moſt valiaunt Princes, were nothing inferiour to the meaneſt Souldyer in warlike practiſe. As the Carthagians vnder the onely conduct of Hannibal, the Lacedemonians vnder Cleo-

& power of Dionisius the tyraunt to haue byn increased, who by his painefull labour and trauell saued his countrey from spoyle, making Sicilia (whom at his comming he founde besieged and in thraldome) the famous and renowned Citie of all Greece. The Carthagians and Lacedemonians, whose gouernments are accounted amongst all the Gretians as the singulerst & the perfectest though they were ruled at home in time of peace, by the authoritie of diuers, yet in warre they alwayes obeyed the rule and commaundement of one man alone, I could also shew you that the Athenians (who most of all detested this Monarchall authoritie) when they sent diuers Emperours into the fieldes they had continually the worst: but when they constituted and appointed one onely as chieftaine and conductour of all, they alwayes returned with victorie. And nowe howe were it possible to make the worthinesse of this dignitie and Monarchall estate more euident vnto you, then by these and such like examples so plainly approuing and confirming, not onely those men which haue liued vnder the gouernment of Princes and Kinges to haue byn the most mightiest and valiantest in all warlike affaires, and the prudentest in all other their dealings but also those Countries whose vse it is to haue diuers and sundry gouernours, when any waightie cause or matter of great importaunce, did compell them to send forthe their armies to haue alwayes vsed to elect and choose some one as principall guide to the rest, calling him by the name of an Emperour or King, yea and them also who did so much hate and abhorre this kinde of gouernment, neuer to haue prospered when as they sent so many generalles into the fieldes: for as I said before, one enuying at the good successe of the other, and euery one being so affectioned that they thought his owne way best, thus striuing

menes, the Athenians also vnder the gouernment of Epaminundas. Pausanias being asked how the Thracians might be best subdued, made answere, if there be an Armie of active and hardy Souldiers sent against them, some one valiaunt & worthy man being appointed the conducter and guider for a politike and skilfull captaine, as the heade is to the body. The Lacedemonians vnder the conducting of Miltiades, ouerthrew the Persians in the fielde of Marathon, in like sort they obtained victory against the same nation at Salamis, vnder Themistocles, against the Lacedemonians by Pericles, but when they went into Sicilia, Nicias, Alcibiades and Lamachus being their Generalles, all ag led vnder the hands of Demosthenes and Eurimidon, they weare miserably conuicted,

as also at all other times, both vnder the gouernment of their thirty Tyraunts, as vnder their ten Rectors, vntill Conon did restore them againe. By the Aemulation betwixte Cleombrates and Agesilaus, as also betwixt Agesilaus and Lisander, the Lacedemonians receiued great damages, and miserable ouerthrowes. Such was the reuerence that the Painims had vnto their Gods, that their Emperours and Rulers in time of peace, as also their Captaines in the Warres, haue diuers times vsed the testimony of their Gods in the compробating or perswading of any waighty matter, as did Numa Pompilius in setting

striuing within themselues they haue commōly wrought their Countries decay: Moreouer if it be lawful for to repeate that which is left vnto vs, as credible by the recordes of antiquitie, it is said that the gods themselues haue Iupiter as their King, the which report if it be true is also a probable assertion that they likewise doe preferre the worthinesse of this estate before all others, but if no man can say for certaine that it is so, yet doe wee seeme to inferre by this coniecture that our owne opinion is that the principalitie which one man doth possesse, is the chiefest and best kinde of gouernment, for we would neuer say the gods did vse that kinde of superioritie amongest them but that our consciences doe perswade vs that it surpasseth all others whatsoeuer they bee. And thus being not able either in thought to comprehend, or in wordes to vtter the singulernesse of this estate, it shall suffice for our purpose to haue spoken this much at this time in the behalfe thereof. Nowe as touching the seconde part of my discourse, as concerning the right and title which I haue vnto this kingdome, and to the authoritie I doe possesse, I will briefely vse but a worde or two, being a case as well already graunted as not craning or requiring any greater probatiō. Who knoweth not the renowned Teucrus the first beginner and chiefe originall of this our lyne, gathering together the elders of his people to haue sayled vnto this Iland, and here building this Citie to haue distributed and allotted vnto them, these landes and possessions which we at this day enioy. My father Euagoras also your late discased King lineally dissending from him, recouering by hard and difficult aduentures, the possession of this kingdome when it had byn lost and

forth his lawes among the Romaines, as approued by the counsayle of Egeria the Goddesse, & Numa king of Crete, by affirming that by being in a certaine Caue, he there receiued those lawes he then prescribed as from Iupiter. Licurgus also saying that the lawes he made were done by the aduise of Apollo, Selencus by the hand of Minerua, Lucius Silla incouraging his Souldyers in holding vp the picture of Apollo Quintus Sertorius in talking with a white hart, with Alexander, Scipio, and Cesar, and diuers other who vsed the like practises.

Mecenas being asked of Octauian the Emperor, as touching the estate of his gouernment, answered, there is nothing O Prince more honourable then lawfully to possesse and inherite a kingdome.

K.ii. vtterly

Licurgus going about to perswade the people of Lacedemonia to a better kinde of life, did put them in remembrance of their originall, which was from Hercules, saying, wherein hath this noblenesse of our Progenitours profite vs, except we according to their example, doe leade our liues in like sort, in doing of those thinges through which Hercules became so honourable. When as one had vsed many wordes in the praise of Alphonsus king of Aragon, in respecting the worthinesse of his auncestours, said he was sonne to a king, Nephew to a king, and nephew to a king: Alphonsus vnderstanding the same, answered that of all thinges which was to be repeated, he had spoken the least, for in that his auncestours through their princely vertues had deserued a kingdome, and had left him heyre thereof, yet was their honour not his, except he did show himselfe to inherite the same by equallitie of

vertue rather then by Testament.

Phillip of Macedon vnderstanding that his sonne Alexander seemed to be greeued in that his father had so many sonnes by diuers women doubting to whome the kingdome should be giuen: said vnto him, seeing thou hast so many copartners, which may by right of birth challenge my seat as well as thy selfe, endeuor therefore that by excelling them, thou maist by thy own worthinesse rather deserue the same then to haue it come vnto thee by inheritaunce.

When as there were certaine that went about to perswade Fridericus the Emperour of Rome, that he should priuily cause to be murthered Ladislaus the king of Hungari and Bohemia, remaining then a childe in his custodie, signifying the great wealth and kingdome whiche might be gained by his death, the Emperour answered, that he had rather haue the kingdome of Hungari and Bohemia, then the wealth and kingdome of Hungari and Bohemia.

vtterly subuerted by others before him, hath now brought all thinges to that passe that the Phenicians shall now no longer extend their crueltie on the Salaminians but that they shall now quietly possesse and enioy it, whose right it was and hath byn euen from the beginning: but letting this passe, it remaineth also that I speake somewhat as touching my selfe, to let you to vnderstande that I your king and gouernour and one which doth not chalenge this authoritie ouer you as by the right of my auncestours only, but also as deseruing the same of my selfe through my owne worthinesse, for in my iudgement all men will confesse Iustice and Temperancie as the chiefest and principallest of all other vertues, being profitable vnto vs not onely because of the excellencie of their owne natures, but also in that they are necessarye in all causes, in so much that if wee thoroughly consider eche thing, wee shall finde nothing well done without them, and that all thinges come to good effect, where they are applyed. And truely if any one in times past hath byn as worthy to haue byn renowned through these vertues and Princely qualities. I can but thinke it reason that I should haue the like attributed vnto me, hauing deserued the same. And as for the executing of iustice it is soone seene howe I haue behaued my selfe therein, if you doe but consider with mee in what case your Citie was when I tooke vpon me the gouernment thereof. Did not I finde this Pallace naked & bare, the treasure emptie, great troubles & tumultes amongest you, eche thing wasted and consumed in such sorte that it required both a diligent care and a present redresse and that with no small charges. Also whereas I did know diuers at that time to haue applyed themselues euery way to the saluing vp of their owne woundes, and on euerie side to haue laboured in the remeding of their owne priuate

were was, I perceiue that you had rather haue me rich then iust, but know ye that I esteeme iustice, and an honest fame more then I doe the great wealth or largest kingdome.

Theodorus the yonger being asked why he did not put to death those whiche had iniured him, nay said he, I had rather if I could, make them alyue which are dead already, signifying that it became a Prince rather to forgiue then to reuenge, as did Agesilaus who preferred to honour and in all causes most earnestly defended and maintained his aduersaries, making them his friendes through his iust dealinges, rather then by crueltie to seeke

uate detrimentes, others also as compelled through ne-
cessity to haue done, as also to haue yelded their consents
to many thinges contrary to their owne consciences, and
quite disagreeable to their owne desires, yet coulde no-
thing moue or prouoke mee so to deale with any one of
them that any man myght haue thereby any occasion to
say that I executed not my charge both iustly and paine-
fully, not omitting any thing which might make either
for your furtheraunce and commoditie, or for the safetie
and prosperous estate of your Countrie: yea I haue vsed
you all with such courtesie that you neither then had or at
this time haue any neede to feare either banishments, for
priuate dissentions, or the raunsacking of your treasure, or
publication of your goods or any other kinde of calami-
tie, as long as it shall please the Gods to graunt mee life
to remaine amongest you. Whereas also through the late
warres wee waged wee coulde not trafficke, nor vse any
kinde of marchandyes into any part of Greece, but that
we were euery where and in all places robbed and rifled,
you your selues knowe howe I haue appeased all quar-
rels, howe I haue ended all matters, and how I haue pro-
cured peace with all parties, partly in restoring vnto
some of them the vttermost they could aske me, contenting
others with an indifferent portion, and partly in taking
day with the rest, seeking also to dispatch all controuer-
sies as yet remaining with as great speede as may bee.
Moreouer, when as the neere borderers on this our I-
land were highly offended with vs as also the King of
Persia being in very deede our deadly enimie though he
seemed vtterly to be our friend, yet I so ordered the mat-
ter that they were both reconciled againe vnto vs, the
one by humble submission vsed towardes him, the other

to be reuenged. Epaminundas being greatlye iniured by his cittizens would neuer reuenge any one thing, for said he, it is a great offence to beare anger towards ones Countrey, for where enuy is there Iustice sleepeth. Agasicles being asked how one might rule his people in moste safetye, aunswered if thou vse them as a Father doth his Children, geuing them cause for thy vertues to reuerence thee, rather then to feare thee for thy cruelty. I had rather said Antonius Pius to saue a Citizen then to kill a thousand enimies, signifying that quietnesse is to bee preferred before the greatest commodity to be gotten by warre.

Probus the Emperour did so painefully labour to conclude peace with all Princes, that he doubted not to say, I hope ere it be long we shall accounte Souldyers men not necessary. O happy worlde if Christen Princes would so agree among themselues, that in respect of their owne causes, they could say the same, and so ad-ioyne themselues with one consent against that deadly enemy of the church of christ the Turke and his adherentes. Agesilaus being asked which of these two Vertues Iustice or Fortitude were worthiest, answered that Fortitude was nothing auaileable, except Iustice were adioyned.

When as one had told Agis king of Lacedemonia, that Philip of Macedon would stop the passage of the Lacedemonians into Greece, it maketh no matter said Agis, for our own countrey is able to suffise vs.

Diogines comming vnto the Campe of Philip of Macedon, was taken and brought before the king of whome the king asked whether he came as a spie I said Diogines, I may soone spie thy folly, and vanitie which voluntarily without compulsion of any doest hazarde as it were at dice thy life and kingdom, which thou already injoyest, to win that wherof thou hast no assurance.

A Prince or governour saith Agesilaus must haue with him these fower properties, a valiaunt and hardy courage against his enemies, a loue and good will to his people, wisedome to forecast all daungers, and reason to vse time when time serueth. Alexander Seuerus kept alwayes noted in a note booke, what soeuer he had bestowed vpon any of his subiectes as also who they were that had receiued it, whereupon when he happened to meete with any of his Citizens or seruaunts, which had but little of him, or such which neuer had craued any thing at his handes, he would call them to him, and aske them whether he ment to make them indebted vnto him, because they had receiued nothing of him.

Nerua the Emperour was so bountifull towardes his people, that when as he had bestowed all his treasure vpon his subiectes, he spared not to sell his owne garmentes, and Jewels, rather then they should lacke releefe, agreeing with Agesilaus, that as it behooued Princes, to offer iniury to no man, so ought they rather to giue then to take any thing from any man.

by the obseruing of iustice and equitie. And as for my own part I so farre detested and abhorred the couetous desire and thirstie greedinesse of other mens possessions that I haue voluntarily refused, euen that which hath byn offered me. And although it bee the vse of most men, as soone as they growe to be of strength, and of greater power then their neighbours violētly to inuade them, as also wrongfully to chalenge and to take awaye from them all that they can come by, nothing respecting whether it bee right or wrong, yet had I rather to enioy my owne rightfully and quietly be it neuer so little, then in such sort vniustly to enlarge the boundes and limittes of my Countrie: but to what ende doe I vse so long a discourse as touching my selfe, or why doe I staye in the repeating of eche thing, perticulerly, seeing I may briefely in fewe wordes comprehend and containe as much as is to bee spoken of, as concerning this matter: Is there any one amongest you which can saye that he hath receiued any wrong at my handes: nay, rather you may rightlyer affirme that there haue byn a greater number, both of Citizens and straungers more Curteously delt withall, and more bountifully rewarded by me then euer they were by any of my predicessors: neither can any one of you impute these my wordes as vaine glorioully spoken, for it becommeth those which seeke for to attaine eternall praise, through the executing and maintaining of iustice, as also by the eschewing and auoyding of Couetousnesse and extortion, so to behaue themselues that at all times they may bee able boldly and truely to speake thus much of their owne worthinesse, hauing so openly manifested the same in all their doinges, vnto the whole worlde that their deadliest enmies

mies are compelled to confesse it for truth: Nowe also as touching the modestie and temperancie, which hath byn shewen by me in all my affaires & dealinges, if I shoulde so exactly prosecute the same, as it may seeme to require it woulde giue mee occasion to vtter many thinges, both straunge and wonderful, especially in a man of my degree and in one of my yeares, for when as comming to the yeares of discretion I had perfectly knowen, as also thorowly considered with my selfe, that al men held and esteemed as dearest vnto them their wiues and children & that they are wont to be soonest incensed and moued vnto yre, if any kinde of iniurie or villanie were vsed towards them and that such wronges offered and done in times paste, hath byn the occasion and originall of much mischiefe to the confusion and ouerthrowe as well of kinges & Princes as of other meaner persons, I haue so muche detested and with such great care and diligence, eschewed & shunned these so horrible vices that from the time I first tooke in hande the gouernment of this kingdome, I neuer touched or sought to vse the body of any other woman then of my owne wife, although I haue knowne sundry and diuers persons which procuring the satisfaction of their licentious appetites from other Countries, haue neuertheless byn well thought of and highly commended of their people in that, by so doing they abstained from offering iniurie vnto any of their own subiects, but as I was desirous so to frame my selfe that no such suspition might arise, of any such doinges of mine, so surely I most of all coueted that I might so order my selfe in all my actions that the integritie of my conuersation might be a lyuely example to all my Citizens to imitate and follow: for the propertie of the people is most commonly so to be disposed and

The alteration of the romaine gouernment as the expelling their kings, because of the vnordinate lust of Tarquinius Superbus, towardes ye good and chast Lady Lucretia, and againe in putting downe of their ten gouernours called Decemviri because of the fleshly concupiscence of Appius towardes the daughter of Virginius, whom her own father slew, rather then she should be defiled.

Rodericus, king of the Gothes slaine, and.lxx. M. people in a battell faught betwixt him and Iulianus the gouernour of the Prounce called Tingitana, a parte of Barbary, in that the sayd King had defiled the daughter of Iulianus: with other Histories infinite, of the desolation and subuertion of sundry monarchies, where such beastly appetites hath rained.

when as Araspus had commended the beawty of Panthea the wife of Abradata before King Cirus as meete to be a Princes mate, the kings answere was, that she was so much the more to be refrained.

The beawty of Darius daughters being highly commended vnto Alexander, as also being willed to goe to see them, being then his captiues, he answered that he would not once go to them, for said he, it were shame for me to be subiect to a woman, which am now a conquerour ouer men.

and giuen as they shall see their Princes to be affectioned and bent, also it becommeth kinges and gouernours as farre to excell and to surpasse their subiectes in good liuing, as they doe exceede them in honour and renowme and truely there is nothing more vnseeming then to constraine others to liue soberly and honestlye and yet they themselues to haue no care howe fondly and licentiously they spend their time: Moreouer, I see that it is as an vsuall thing vnto most men to be able to byde, and to restraine their foolish desires and fond imaginations when soeuer they are moued with any perturbation or motion of minde in any other thing, but those raging fittes and burning flames of fleshly desire, neither the strongest nor wisest haue euer byn able as yet to extinguishe or quench if so be that they were once fastened and kindled within them, ye though they suffered them to take neuer so little holde: wherefore I desired, yea & haue laboured, and that with great care, not onely to excell the basest and meanest in those trifles, so easily to bee done of euery one, but also to shewe my selfe a Conquerer and victorer euen in that wherein the greatest and renowmedst Peeres of the world haue both fainted and failed. And nowe to giue my iudgement of those men which marrying and vowing themselues to an honest and ioyfull societie of life at length, forgetting all their former promises and abiding by nothing care not howe or in what sort they offend those chaste matrons, with whom they are coupled, so that their beastly appetite may bee satisfied, when as they themselues can not abide to be contraried or displeased not in the least thing, truely I must of necessitie sharpely reproue their folly as mē most lewdly bent supposing also those men as worthie

when as Alexander comming into Illia, beholding a woman of a moste singuler bewty standing before the Aulter of Iupiter, did seeme vnto Ephestiō earnestly to view her, wherupon Ephestiō taking occasiō to speke vnto him, said, behold O prince heare is a woman worthye to be thy loue, no not so, sayde the king, for it is a thing most vnseeming for me to show my selfe so incontinent which am wont so seuerely to punishe & to reprehende this vice in an other.

When as Scipio had ouerthrowne Carthage, being then but fower & twenty yeres of age, at which time there was broughte vnto him, among other Wooties,

a certaine virgine of a surpassing bewtye whiche had remained a Captiue in Carthage before his comming, he shewed himselfe so continent, that inquiring of her what she was, he presently sent her home vnto her Parentes, giuing her no small summe towardes her dowrie, in that he vnderstoode her as before be trothed to an other, whereupon being afterwarde asked why he did not take her, because, said he I am an Emperour, to whome it belongeth to surpasse his people in the integritie of life. Antigonus the third as soone as he had beheld a certaine Virgine in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and did feele himselfe moued with the delight of her bewtie, he presently departed the Citie, least he should haue bine compelled to haue

worthie of rebuke, which faithfully obseruing and fulfilling their promises in all other couenauntes & contractes according to equitie and iustice, are yet found so dissolute, as carelessely to breake and violate the vowes which they haue made to their wyues, the which truely in my opinion ought aboue all other thinges firmely and strictly to haue byn obserued, in that they are worthier and of greater importaunce, then all other promises are, whatsoeuer they bee: but if the ende hereof were thorowly considered if they would call to minde the great and sundrie discommodities which they procure to themselues, the wonderfull dissention and discorde which they breede, and cause within their owne pallaces, the horrible feares and continuall daungers, they wilfully bring themselues into, then would they soone be reuoked and reduced from this their errour, and it is the duetie of a Prince, to bee a procurer of vnitie and peace, not onely in his townes and Cities, but also and that especially to see loue and amitie fostered within his owne Courtes and within the gates where he himself remaineth: for these are the originals and groundes both of Temperancie and iustice, whiche can not be maintained: where ryotous liuers and amorous wantons doe inhabite, but to returne to my selfe and to vse a fewe wordes, as touching the issue of my bodie as concerning my children, which the Celestiall gods haue lent me, and whom I hope I shall leaue behinde mee, to the better preseruation of your Citie and to the greater comforte of you all. I let you to vnderstande that I haue not herein followed the licentious order of other Princes whose vse hath byn to haue some by meane and base women,

committed a thing so vnlawfull.

A Harlot, saith Diogines, is a cuppe of sweete wine mixed with deadlye poison, whose tast though it be sweete, and pleasaunt, yet in the ende, it bringeth destruction.

A straunger demaunded of one Gerada a man of Sparta, what punishment adulterers had in his Countrey, seeing Licurgus had made no law for the same, no sayde Gerada, it needed not, for there is no adulterer in Sparta, neyther is it possible that there should be any among them, that doe so greatly detest excesse wealth sumptuous fare, lasciuious

wantonnesse, and fond foolishe pride, and in steede of them are content to liue modestly and soberly, yeelding dutifull obedience to their Magistrates, and obeying the lawes, not for feare, but for the zeale they haue to vertue herselfe. The counsayle of Aristotle was, that we should beholde pleasure as she went away and not as she did come towardes vs, for though she looke vppon vs, with a smyling and pleasaunt countenaunce, yet hath she alwayes hanging at her backe, care, sorrowe, and lamentable repentaunce. Alexander did not onely shew himselfe a continent and chast liuer, but also reproued the same very seuerely in others, as appeared in the sharpe rebuke he gaue vnto Cassander, for kissing of Pitho, being but the Concubine of Eutus. When as a yong man had said vnto Monedemas that

he thought it a great happinesse if a man might obtaine all that he desyred, nay saide the Philosopher, it were more happier if we could not attaine any of those thinges which are vnhoneſt and vndecent to be desyred or sought for.

men, others by noble and renowned Ladies, some also as bastardes, others as true and lawfully begotten of their owne bodyes through which their euill behauiour, great discentions, ciuill broyles, and bloudie warres haue happened amongest their subiectes after their deathes: but I haue had that care herein that my children maye truely and euery one of them equally, challenge and claime a direct and perfect lyne of their petigrees from one father and mother, (as amongest men) vnto Euagoras my father as amongest those whom wee account the perfectes, and as it were halfe gods vnto Aeacus that iust and righteous iudge and so going forwardes amongest the Gods themselues euen vnto the great and mightie Iupiter, in so muche that there is not no not one of mine which is or shall bee depriued of this honour duely discending vnto them from so high and renowned auncestors. And truely as their are diuers and sundry causes whereby I myght be perswaded to perseauer in this my purposed and determined course and race of liuing, so surely I am as especially moued or rather incouraged thereunto, in that I well perceiue these onely vertues, namely, Iustice and Temperancie to be the sole inheritaunce the onely possessions and the perticuler properties of good and godly liuers. As for the valiantnesse of minde, the strength of bodye or worldly pollicies or any other especiall or commendable gift of nature, wee commonly see the wicked and lewde person to enioy as good part in them as the other, supposing therefore that man to goe about and to take vppon him a thing most excellent, which painefully laboureth and striueth by all meanes possible to embrace, and

Having spoken of the Continency which ought to be in men, I cannot let passe those worthy dames with infinite others, whose faithfulnesse and integritie of life hath bene most rare, or at least in these dayes is a thing moste straunge. Zenobia Queene of Palmerie, neuer desyred the company of her husbande, but onely for procreation sake. Sophronia a Lady of Rome when as she should be compelled to bethe Emperours Decius Concubine, killed her selfe with her husbandes sworde, rather then so to be defyled, and to the shame of those which being neuer so olde hauing once bene maried are so fleshly bent that they are neuer well till they be maried againe. The worthye Lady Rodogune, the Daughter of King Darius shall not be omitted, who killed her Nurse because she went about to perswade her to marry again, yea though she were pong and bewtifull. Iugurtha being the Bastard of Manastabalus killed the sonnes of Mittipsa his vncle, and Atreus and Thiestes the sonnes of Pelops borne of Hippodamia, murthered their brother Chrisippus borne by Danaida, because he was his fathers darling. Such is the force of Ambition, that manye haue neither spared father, mother, brother nor sister, to obtain the sole principality.

and to retaine in his custodie these two precious pearles, being as it were the onely badges and tokens, by ý which good men are discerned and knowen from others in that as is aforesaid, they are as onely peculier and proper vnto them: I my selfe as induced by these reasons haue most studiously and carefully, aboue all other thinges applyed my whole indeuour to the executing and maintaining of iustice: obseruing as much as might be both modesty and Temperancie in all my dealinges taking my delightes in such thinges onely which might make to the increase of my honour, and to your furtherance: and not in that which being committed might both turne to my shame as also to the corrupting of many others through my euil and lewde example. And now as these vertues before specified are most singuler, & among all others to be accounted as the first & chiefest, so also euen in their owne kinde one farre excelleth another, either in respect of the cause or time wherein they are done, or else in respect of the person of him that is the doer thereof, so that you are not to giue iudgement generally or after one sort, of all vertues no though they bee contayned all vnder one name. The which if it bee true, then call to your remembraunce the iustice which I vsed in my greatest necessitie, the modesty of my life when I came to enioy the chiefest authoritie, and the continencie which I shewed euen in my youthfull yeares. These were the times which gaue vnto you a perfect token and tried proofe of my disposition and nature: for though I were left very bare and poore by my father and founde all thinges as naked when I came to my Crowne, yet ministred iustice indifferently to all men that I am sure there is not one amongest you, which can say that I haue done him one inche of wrong, as one seeking by other mens decay to inriche my cofers or to augment my treasure, and whereas I enioyed that power ouer you that all might haue byn lawfull whatsoeuer had liked me, yet did I alwayes vse such modestie and lowlinesse in all my doinges, that therein I haue shewed my

The onlye thing that is to be counted auaileable, is Iustice sayd Phocion, in respect of whome al other things are trifles.

Antonius Pius was wont to wish that his life might end ý day or hower wherein hee swerued from Iustice, or neglected his duety.

Sigismundus the Emperour being asked whome he supposed meete to be a prince or gouernour, answered, that man whome neither prosperitie can make hautye, neither aduersity timerous or discomforted.

It is the parte of a prince, sayd Agesilaus to excell his subiects and Citizens in the integritie of life, and not in wantonnesse and daintinesse.

Alcamenes being asked how a realme might be best preserued, answered if the prince be

selfe as one equall with the meanest. And these thinges did I euen in that age wherein the most part of men are wont to become carelesse and dissolute, as forgetting all duetie, neglecting all good order, and geuing themselues fondly vnto all vanities and fancies, but to haue vsed these speaches as appertaining to my owne praise before straungers, neither durst I neither would I not, in that they are vntrue or that I doe thinke my owne doinges as vnworthy of this commendation, but because I shoulde haue feared that they would not haue giuen credite vnto my wordes, but as for you, you your selues are witnesses of all that hath byn spoken, you your selues haue seene and knowne to your comfortes the truth confirmed before your eyes, nowe therefore as you doe account those men as a rare sorte of men, and such as are worthye of great commendations and praises, if any amongest you by the helpe of nature doe shewe themselues discrete and modest in all their doings, much more then must you of force suppose the like of them which voyde of that benefite, euen of their owne voluntarie affection, labour to attaine vnto the like perfection, for it may bee that they which after this sort vnaduisedly doe for a time obserue that good motion of nature, leading as it were by chaunce, a temperate order of liuing, may at length bee seduced and withdrawē from the same, if that good seede happe to be chooked by some stincking and noysome weede ouergrowing it. But the other which ouer and beside the furtheraunce of nature, are fully perswaded and taught, that the chiefest felicitie and happinesse of this life, consisteth in the embrasing and following of vertue, these men no doubt will continually vnto their liues ende perseuer and continue in their determined purpose. And nowe to come to the whole and onely effect of all that which hath byn spoken, knowe ye that the onely cause why and wherefore I haue made this long discourse vnto you, both as touching my self, as also of all other thinges before rehearsed and specified, is that you should perswade your selues that there is nowe

no

not thirstye after gaine.

Such was the continency and tēperācy which Pericles ye worthy Captain of Athens had vsed in all his life that he could boldly say at his death ye hee had neuer giuen occasion to any of his Citizens to were any mourning garment.

Socrates gaue his scollers alwayes this lesson, to lodge wisedome in their hartes, shamefastnes in their countenaunces, and silence in their tongues.

As one swallow saith Socrates doth not make a summer so doth not one good deede proue a man to be iust and vpright in his dealings.

A wise man saith Anaxagoras, doth not obey the lawes for feare of punishment, but for the loue he beareth to vertue her selfe.

It is a harde thing said Alphonsus King of Aragon, to

no excuse left to be alleaged, why you should not willingly and gladly obserue and obey the commaundementes, nay, rather the good counsaile and friendly exhortation which I shall giue you, seeing I burthen you with no greater burthen, nor charge you with no more then to fulfill that which I my selfe both haue done and willingly will doe, euen vnto my liues ende, wherefore I require and charge you that euery one of you doe execute that office and function whereunto he is called, both diligently and faithfully: for it must needes come to passe that your dealinges must prooue euill, if either of these two pointes be not obserued, shewe not your selues therefore neglectors and contemners of my commaundementes, and yet not so addicting your selues as though you should thinke that the waight and importaunce of all, should consist in the obseruing and obeying of my will onely, but that you would be so carefull and diligent in those thinges which you take in hand, as to perswade your selues that the well doing and ordering of euery perticuler matter, is the only meanes whereby the vniuersall estate of euery Common weale doth flourish and prosper, for there must needs bee a most happie Realme where euery man perticulerly hath a care to performe his duetie, and to amende himselfe in ought that is amisse, for when wee flatter our selues with our owne follies and are as it were blinded with our owne vanities, wee runne headlong into our owne destruction: bee you therefore no lesse carefull of my affaires then of your owne, seeing the one dependes on the other, neither doe ye esteeme as vaine the honours which are prepared for them, which painefully and iustly order

be a perfect and discrete guider of an army into the field to encounter with the enemy, but it is a thing more difficult for a Prince to shew himselfe vnto his people, a lively example or ring leader vnto vertue.

It is not sayth Tully, the part of a good citizen to make any intermition of his duty, or to vse any slacknesse in executing of his office or charge.

Aristides wife would alwayes crie vnto him to remember that the publique affaires of his country were to be preferred before his own priuate causes.

If a man, saith Socrates should come into a Theatre, and calling aloude should will all Tanners or all Smithes to arise, you shal see onely the men of those sciences to arise, and the rest to sit still, but if he should say, let all those that are iust and wise depart

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lers stand vp, presently the whole multitude will arise.

A certaine Philosopher of Pithagoras sect, had bought a payre of shoes of a shoemaker, not paying ready money, but a day being appointed vnto the paiment, at which time the Philosopher comming according to promise and finding the shomaker dead, not paying his money he departed ioyfully home, reioycing that he had gayned so much by the man, but being afterward greatlye troubled in conscience as one that had possessed the goods of an other, he afterward returned to the shomakers shop & threw the mony from him, say ing, he is yet liuing to me, that is dead vnto others, so vnquiet are the consciences of those that wrongfully possesse other mens goods. Alphonsus that worthy and renowned king of Aragon accounted Vsurers and such as are greedy after other mens goods, the rauining byrdes called Harpie.

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our businesse committed vnto them.

Refraine your handes from other mens goodes, to the ende that you your selues may the safer and the quieter possesse that which is your owne, for it is reason that you shewe your selues such manner of men towardes others, as you would wishe others to bee affectioned towardes you.

Make no more hast to get Riches then an honest report, for amongest the Greekes, and amongest all other people bee they neuer so barbarous, they commonly enioy the chiefest honours and the greatest wealth, which are found to deserue through their vertues, the greatest commendations.

As for vnhonest gaine it bringes not so great store of treasure into your Cofers, as it doth daunger vnto your persons both in the getting and keeping: neither woulde I haue you to thinke your selues euer the richer by receauing, or the poorer in giuing, for the properties of these two are oftentimes chaunged, and truely you can not doe amisse herein, if ye respect either the time or the necessitie of the case, so that it be agreeable to vertue.

Goe not about to hyde or to keepe secrete from me any one thing whatsoeuer it bee, that either you nowe are about to doe as presently, or else hereafter minde to bring to passe, no although it bee that which remaineth as priuie in your owne imaginations, being as yet onely knowen vnto your selues, for though my bodye bee not alwayes in one and the same place with you, yet ought the remembraunce of me to be continually present in all your affaires & enterprises, for this being borne in minde shall cause you as carefully and as discretely to deale, as if I there did stand as present to behold you. Againe, as you knowe

It is better sayd Chilon to sustaine losse, then to be enriched through vnhonest meanes.

Bias being asked what thing that was in the life of man, which was voyde of feare, answered, a cleare conscience.

When as Pontius one of Cesars Centurions was taken by Scipio, Pompeyes father in law and was promised his life, if hee would forsake Cesar, disclose his secretes, and adioin himselfe vnto Pompey, O Scipio said he, I giue you thankes for your gentle proffer, but know ye that I way my life lesse then I doe my faith, and dutifull obedience towardes my maister, frō whom though I be absēt, yet is he as now present with me.

Anonimus being asked what was the best meanes to cause men to deale iustly, answered the kinges eye, for said he, the diligent attendaunce of princes ouer the affaires of their countreyes, shall imprint such a feare in the heartes of his subiectes, that they will alwayes thereby thinke them as present, although they be absent and so be fearefull to transgresse.

Licurgus was wont to reioyce in that he had so liued, that his deadliest enimies were not able to burthen him that he had receaued one farthing vnhonestly, or committed any such

knowe close and priuie practises containe in them great troubles with continuall terrour and feare, so order your selues therefore in that charge which is committed vnto you, that nothing may bee sayde to haue byn done either secretly or deceiptfully, but that all your doings may appeare so plaine and manifest vnto all the world, that your deadliest enemie though he sought it, may not bee able to finde one little hole in your garment, no not one iust occasion to triumphe ouer you, for the least acte which you should commit or doe vndiscretly.

Imitate the Eagle, go get you to a simmie banke, looke vpon your Talentes, if you finde them dull sharpen them againe: examine your owne workes if they bee good goe forward, as you haue begunne, but if they be euill amend them, adiudging those thinges as vnworthy and vnseeming to be done, which you desire to keepe secrete from me, and that onely to be honest and good which I vnderstanding shal haue iust cause to commend, as also through them to conceiue the better opinion of you your selues.

Keepe not the counsell of those which shall seeke either to indamage my person, or to subuert my kingdome but rebuke them and reproue them, yea though they bee your dearest friendes, for no lesse punishment shall be giuen vnto the counseller then to the chiefest trespasser: neither doe you iudge them as happie, which can craftily couer their wicked and naughtie intentes, but rather suppose those men as most safest which offend not at all, for as it is requisite that the one shoulde receiue condyng punishmentes according to the hainousnesse of their offences which in time doe appeare, so is it conuenient that the other shoulde receiue a meete reward for their well doinges.

You shall gather together no assemblies, nor call no counsell without my authoritie and consent, for as suche conspiracies haue byn most pernitious vnto that state of gouern-

folly for which they might haue cause to be sorry, or they to reioyce ouer him.

When as one offered Iulius Drusus for fiue Talentes of Siluer to redresse the inconueniencies of his house, in that diuers partes thereof did lye open to the prospect of his neighbors, nay said Drusus, I will rather giue thee ten Talentes for to build my house, that not only my neighbours but the whole Citie may perfectly see what is done in euery part thereof, signifying that a good man ought to doe nothing whereof he should be ashamed, if it were knowne.

If my father, sayde Pericles should conspire against my countrey, if reason might not disswade him from this madnesse, I

would surely betray him. Lisander being asked what common weale he supposed in most happy state, that countrey sayd he, where vertue is rewarded, and vice punished.

gouernment holden of many, so surely is it the daungerous thing that can happen, vnto that sole authoritie possessed by Princes.

Seeke ye with as great care to auoyde those thinges which may giue any suspitiō of euill liking as you would doe, not to be thought guiltie of the offence it selfe.

Moreouer, I would haue you to account my good will and friendship so sure and certaine vnto you, that I am yours to vse to your profites and furtheraunces in any honest and iust case, doe you therefore diligently indeuour to maintaine and vpholde this my estate, and bee not desirous of alterations or chaunges, for surely by suche tumultes the destruction and subuertion of your Citie and Countrie will soone ensue.

Let mercie and seueritie be showen, according to the desertes and behauiour of my people, and not as wholy depending on the iudgementes and affections of the Magistrates, for as they may bee made fauourable through the intreataunce of friendes, so also many of them are often moued and incensed, to bee sometimes too too sharpe and seuere through the ouerthwartnesse and frowardnesse of others, doe you therefore execute iustice indifferently towardes all men, trusting more to your owne innocencie and iust dealinges, then to my mercie or fauour, accounting also my saftie to be yours, and the well ordering of my affaires to be the inriching of your owne treasures.

It shall be your dueties in like sort to shewe your duetifull obedience vnto my Crowne and dignitie to obserue my commaundementes, to obey my lawes and ordinaunces, and to behaue your selues honorable, and commendable in the gouerning of my people, willing in all thinges to execute my will and pleasure.

Be you also the incouragers, and stirrers vp of youth to

Licurgus being asked why his countrey men did so often remoue their tents or Campes from place to place, aunswered that we may the easier deceiue our enemies, signifying that nothing brought sooner destruction then often alterations and chaunges. When as Strabo to curry fauour with Augustus, had vsed words to the reproofe of the stubbornnesse of Cato Vticensis, in that he slue himselfe, rather then he would consent to the alteration of the estate of gouernment before vsed Augustus aunswere was, that that man was onely to be accounted a good and honest Citizen which desyreth not the state of the common weale to be altered & changed, but holdeth himself content with things present. Cleon hauing taken vpon him the gouernment of the common weale of Athens protested that he would now as it were vnlose the bandes of all friendship, because sayd he friends are often times lettes vnto the executing of iustice. O how happy was Scipio Africanus who conducting so great an army into Afrike, was able to say: there is not one Souldyer in all this Campe, whome if I should commaund to throw himselfe hedlong down this Turret, which would refuse to doe it. The vse among the Romaines was at their feastes and solemne meetinges to sing the actes and doinges of their auncesters in verse vpon shaulmes & flutes to the end that their youth by the hearing the same, might be incouraged to immitate the like

to the imbracing of vertue, and that not onely in giuing them good and graue counsell, but also in practising the same in your owne doinges, that thereby they may vnderstand what manner of men it behoueth them to bee which seeke to be accounted noble and honorable: Teache also your owne children to be faithfull and loyall subiectes towards their Princes, and see that they be especially trained and brought vp in the true knowledge and perfect practise of this vertue, for when they haue thoroughly learned to obey, they will rule with greater discretion those which shalbe subiect vnto their authoritie, the profite also thereof shalbe their owne, for if they prooue faithfull and honest Citizens, they shalbe pertakers of our wealth and prosperitie, but if they become riotous and dissolute liuers, then will they soone hazard euen that which is their owne consuming, that in a shorte time yea and that with shame and infamie which you their fathers haue honorably gotten with long trauell and continuall paynes: suppose therfore that you then leaue your children richest and in most safetie when as you see them most worthiest of my fauour.

A certaine woman of the countrey of Ionia, a part of Greece, bragging of a peece of curious worke, which she had made, reproouing the vnskilfulnesse, or rather idlenesse of a certaine woman of Lacedemonia, because she could not shew the like the Lacedemonian matron for answere bringing forth her fower sonnes whome shee had brought vp in all honest and godly exercises, said vnto her, this is the worke wherein a good and careful mother is to be occupied about, to procure vnto her country honest & obedient citizens then to bewtify her house with fond bravery.

Account those men of all others as most miserable and wretched which being careless in keeping their promises haue lost their credite with those which were wont to trust them, for without doubt such men spend the rest of their life with an vnquiet and fearefull conscience, not daring to trust their friendes further then their foes, either because they suppose euery man like themselues or that the guiltinesse of their own crime, breedes a distrust within themselues. They therefore may bee deemed as most happie which knowing themselues cleare from any such villanie, leade their liues in great quietnesse.

To teache their youth both dutifull obedience towards their Magestrates & elders. as also to make them the redier & skilfuller in the vnderstanding of their duties, the Romanes had an order that their yong men should dayly attend and waite on the Se-

natours and fathers, accompanying them vnto the Senate house, and so home again, giuing the like reuerence both in the streates, as also at feastes, Leontichidas being asked wherin youth ought most to be instructed, answered in those thinges which may profite them most when they come to mans estate. When as Phocion was reproued because he would not receiue the great treasure that was sent to him from Alinillus, neither yet suffer his sonne to receiue it, his answere was that if his sonne were of honest conuersation, his patrimonye left vnto him would suffice him, but if he were a riotous and wanton liuer, neither that treasure, neither any other, would be sufficient for him. When as Tissaphernes had broken

promise with Agesilaus, he sente certaine Orators vnto him to giue him thanks in y by breaking his promise he had not onely iniured him, but also procured the indignation of the Gods against him, in being so carelesse of his faith.

One going about to perswade Anacharsis to doe a certaine thing that was vnhonest to be done, affirming that hee neede not feare the doing thereof, seing that he could not be thought the vnhonester therby, because he might keepe it vnknowne from all men, though said Anacharsis as thou sayst I may keepe it vnknowne from others, yet will it be alwayes known to my selfe.

Fredericus hauing called al his counsellers before him into his court burst out into these speeches, would God my counsellers would put of and leue behind them

Let not that outward shewe of profite to be gotten by any dishonest meanes, seeme to be of more force with you then a vertuous and godly life, neither thinke ye the name of a wicked liuer, as onely odious and that you are as scotfree and safe, if you can by concealing and cloaking of your naughtinesse auoyde or escape the report thereof, and so to be accounted as honest men, because it is not openly knowne; for truely howe so euer it be done eyther secretly or openly, it is alwayes one for the nature of the thing it selfe, and the name giuen thereunto doe nothing differ be it done neuer so closely or priuily.

Seeme ye not to mislike or to enuie at them, whom you shall see in chiefest authoritie and fauour with mee, but rather contend & indeuour through your owne worthinesse and vertues to become equall vnto the best supposing them as worthy to be beloued and reuerenced whom you shall perceiue, and knowe your king to make most account of, so shall I haue good cause to attribute the like vnto you your selues, when time and occasion shall so require.

Continue ye alwayes of one minde, speaking no worse of me behinde my backe, then you shall vse to protest before my face, confirming your good willes towardes mee in deedes, rather then in wordes, dealing no otherwise with other men then you would bee content to bee dealte withall your selues: let your wordes and deedes bee agreeable, and thinke ye so to be vsed and esteemed of mee as I shall finde you affectioned towardes me.

Say not amongest your selues, this man or that man doth well, and is worthy of great commendations, but rather labour that other men may haue cause to say the like of

in the Porters lodge at my Court gate, two things, so should I be sure to be wel counselled by them, and I my selfe also should easily deserue what were best to be done for the profite of my people, at which wordes his counsellers amazed, because he vsed no more wordes, one of the company asked the Emperour what were these two thinges, it is sayd he flattering and dissembling, the murtherers of truth, the vndoers of Princes, and the ouerthrowes of euery common weale. Carneades saying was, that Princes were neuer perfect in any thing but in doing, for said he, it is the vse of all men that haue to deale with them to flatter & to dissemble with them: but the horse not caring whome he eateth be he king or Citizen, without respect of persons, throweth them of from his back, except they be skilfull in ordering & riding of him. Antigonus the king of Macedon, being asked why he so greatly esteemed Zeno,

of you: accounting also that vnto all those which willingly will shewe themselues obeyers and fulfillers of my commaundementes shalbe graunted free libertie, to leade their liues as shall best like themselues. And thus I minde briefly to conclude this long and tedious discourse, which I haue made as hauing spoken sufficient as concerning those thinges which at ẏ first I had purposed: hauing as great hope to see you as carefully and as gladly to put in practise this which I haue charged you withall, as you haue seemed vnto mee both ioyfully and willingly to haue geuen eare vnto the same, while it hath byn tolde you. Wherein I would haue you onely to beare in minde this one thing, as the whole effect of all the rest, which is no more but that you would thinke it your duetie, to shew your selues in such sorte obedient vnto mee, and as carefull of my affaires as you your selues, would looke to bee serued and obeyed of them which are vnder you, and vnto whom you commit the ordering and disposing of your owne businesse, the which thing if you doe vnfainedly and faithfully obserue and keepe, it were truely but loste labour for mee to take in hand at this time to discribe vnto you the sundry and innumerable commodities which will growe and arise thereby, for if I for my part doe in suche sorte behaue my selfe hereafter as heretofore I haue done, and you also doe your indeuours, as gladly and as willingly to shewe your dutifull obedience and diligent care towardes mee, you soone shall see to your great ioy and comfort, your owne wealth increased, these my dominions inlarged, and this our Citie in most happie and prosperous estate: wherefore seeing this thing is so conducible and profitable vnto you, and so worthy of your labour,

because said he, I did neuer finde him to dissemble with me in any thing when as one had sayd vnto Theopompus, King of Lacedemonia that the people of Lacedemonia should be then most happye, when as their Princes had learned to rule well, thou saist truely said the King, if the people haue also learned in like sorte to obay.

If the citizens obay their magistrates, and the Magistrates in like sorte obay the lawes, that Citie sayd Solon shall prosper and continue, otherwise it is soone ouerthrowne.

As the stage player must not onely seeke to please his hearers, in showing himselfe singuler in

playing the last act of the Commody, but also in euery scene, euen from the first beginning: so must we saith Socrates euen from the first entraunce into this life, applie our selues vnto vertue, and the knowledge of our duties, and not defer the same from day to day, or vntill we be olde, the which we may rightly tearme the last acte of this our miserable pilgrimage. It was a common saying among the Lacedemonians, that Fortune was to be called vpon with mouing handes, signifying that if we would doe our indeours and applie our selues to a vertuous and honest life, we could not chuse but inioy a good fortune, that is, to liue happely.

it shall behoue you to take paine herein, to be circumspect in your dealinges, to haue alwayes a most vigilant and watchfull eye to the charge committed vnto you, and for the obtaining of so great felicitie, not to refuse any labour, but with gladsome hartes ioyfully to vndertake the greatest perils, perswading your selues that euen presently this combat is to bee attempted, for euen nowe it consisteth in your owne powers, and as it were in your owne handes to bee victorious without all labour to accomplishe your hartes desire, and to winne that wished forte, if you would doe no more but shewe your selues true and faithfull subiectes, cheerefully accompanying him in all godly exercises which willes you to doe no more then he himselfe will doe.

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